

Introduction

In Judaism, there is a reverence that binds student to teacher. The power of this relationship is aptly captured in words once written by Professor Jacob Katz in his classic essay on the architect of Hungarian Ultra-Orthodoxy, "Towards a Biography of the Hatam Sofer." In this piece, Professor Katz describes the absolute devotion that linked the Hatam Sofer (1762–1839) to his teacher Rabbi Nathan Adler. Katz wrote that when Rabbi Adler decided to leave Frankfurt and accept the rabbinical position of Boskowitz in Moravia, his pupil intended only to accompany him to the outskirts of the city and then bid him farewell. However, the pupil, "at the moment of separation, was so overwhelmed by sorrow that he could not bear to part from him. Thus Moses Sofer departed from his city of birth."

The ethos of the Pressburg Yeshiva that the Hatam Sofer eventually established is surely far removed from the aesthetic that marked the German world of *Bildung* that informed my teacher Fritz Bamberger. Yet, no tale better captures the relationship I had with him. My very soul remains entwined with his no less than that of the Hatam Sofer's with Rabbi Adler's.

I came under the tutelage of Dr. Bamberger during my student years in New York at Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, and ultimately wrote my rabbinical thesis under his direction. To sit in his class and to listen to his words was to be in the presence of knowledge and wisdom. Professor Bamberger possessed a storehouse of learning that he bore with ease. He would speak in a quiet and knowing manner of Luzzatto, Krochmal, Zunz, and Cohen; and he would always illuminate their thoughts through citations of Vico, Herder, Kant, and Hegel. When Dr. Bamberger spoke in his gentle and natural way of Maimonides, Spinoza, and Mendelssohn, there was an added appreciation in his voice; and his gentle admiration for his own teachers, Julius Guttmann and Leo Baeck, touched the core of my being. These men were his intimates, and as Dr. Bamberger spoke, one felt the passion and nobility attached to learning. There was a dimension of grace present as I listened and learned.

When Dr. Bamberger would show me his library, a special glow would envelop him. He was a great bibliophile. Professor Bamberger had not only mastered the words that were written in these volumes; he loved the very pages on which these words were written, as well as the covers that bound the thoughts these tomes contained. I sensed his sensuality and passion as he held these books, displayed them and spoke of their contents.

This book catalogues and describes the holdings of that library he so reverently displayed to me and to others who were guests in his home. As the

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Editors' Note

reader will see, the Bamberger Library was and remains a treasure trove of Jewish intellectual history. It was the great privilege of the College-Institute to purchase this library upon his death. This library is currently housed in the Abramov Library on the Jerusalem campus of HUC-JIR. Dr. Bamberger lovingly listed these volumes with absolute precision and described their contents with great exactitude in the manuscript that has now at long last been published in the pages of this book. His encyclopedic knowledge as well as his attention to details — always the hallmarks of profound scholarship — are herein fully revealed. This book and its bibliographical information constitute an incomparable boon to scholarship. The holdings of the library can now be disseminated to the entire world of researchers and interested laypeople alike.

It is with great personal joy as well as scholarly appreciation that I therefore herald the appearance of this book. I offer my deepest gratitude to his daughter Gay, his son Michael and daughter-in-law Phylis, as well as his widow Maria, for providing the financial assistance that has permitted the publication of this work. I also wish to thank Laurel Wolfson and David Gilner, who edited the manuscript; their devotion to this project have made the appearance of this book possible and their efforts have allowed the lips of Dr. Bamberger to speak from the place of eternal rest.

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Jerusalem, August 1, 2003 — 3 Av 5763

The comprehensive Spinoza Collection at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Library, Cincinnati, is much the result of Adolph S. Oko's personal interest in Baruch Spinoza and his philosophy. Oko was Librarian at the College from 1906 to 1933, and he began the Spinoza Collection during the winter of 1911–12. His intent was to gather all extant works by and about Spinoza, and to make them useful to scholars through cataloging and bibliography: the Library's card catalog and Oko's posthumously published bibliography (*The Spinoza Bibliography*, G.K. Hall, 1964) bear testimony to his successes and accomplishments. Writing of the Library and its Spinoza Collection just prior to his death in 1944, Oko opined: "This collection now consists of about 2,500 volumes, and is second to none in size and importance."

The development of the Spinoza Collection continued under the guidance of Professor Herbert C. Zafren, Librarian in Cincinnati and then Director of Libraries for the College-Institute from 1950 to 1994. During these years, the size of the collection nearly doubled, and its contents were made more accessible to the scholarly world through the publications that he established and edited, including *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* and the *Dictionary Catalog of the Klau Library, Cincinnati* (G.K. Hall, 1964; suppl. 1972, 1984). Under his supervision, the Spinoza collection of Professor Fritz Bamberger — certainly the most important privately held collection of Spinozana — was acquired, processed, and then dispatched to our Jerusalem campus, where it resides in the Special Collections Room of the Abramov Library.

The Library continues to develop its Spinoza Collection. The descriptions that had first appeared in card, then book, format are now available to scholars on the internet via the online catalog which includes the holdings of all three of our American libraries. With the appearance in print of Professor Bamberger's *catalogue raisonné* and the addition of these titles to the Library's online catalog, a most important contribution to the published corpus of Spinoza bibliography is achieved.

Professor Bamberger's catalog was a work in progress. When the collection arrived in Cincinnati in 1986, there were an additional twenty items appropriate to the catalog which were not described therein. Descriptions of these items do not appear in this work, but will be found in the Library's online catalog when the Bamberger holdings are entered into this database. The posthumous publication of a manuscript often presents the editors with a host of problems. Our guiding principle here has been to let Professor Bamberger speak in his own words; where unavoidable, we have preferred to resolve problems of intelligibility by pruning a word or two rather than by adding to the text. As is necessary in any manuscript, we have established uniformity in names, titles, places, publishers, dates, and in the references found in the Index.

Laurel Wolfson and David Gilner, Editors

Early Editions of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*

A Bibliohistorical Reexamination

Fritz Bamberger, New York

In the fall of 1655 Spinoza wrote his friend and frequent correspondent, Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society in London, that he was engaged in the writing of a treatise on the meaning of the Scriptures. The work, he confided, was aimed at exposing the prejudices of the theologians, defending himself against accusations of atheism that were constantly leveled against him, and upholding the freedom of a philosopher to express his thoughts.¹ It took a few years to complete the book. When it was eventually published in 1670, the title page read: *Tractatus / Theologico- / Politicus / Continens / Dissertationes aliquot, / Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum / slava Pietate, & Reipublicae Pace posse concedi: sed / eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicae, ipsaque / Pietate tolli non posse. / Johann: Epist. I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII. / Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet / in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis. [Vignette] / Hamburgi. / Apud Henricum Künraht. MDCLXX.*

One would think that an author anxious to refute a grave charge leveled at him would make his identity known. Yet, the *Tractatus* appeared anonymously. Even the place of publication and the name of the publisher or printer were carefully disguised. There was no Henricus Künraht in Hamburg. There were, from the beginning, some who did not believe in the Hamburg origin of the *Tractatus*.² Johannes Musaeus, professor of theology in Jena, Germany, seems to have been the first to state in print that the *Tractatus* was printed in Amsterdam.³ From him Theophil Spizel (Spizelius), a Lutheran preacher in Augsburg, Germany, copied the same information.⁴ Pierre Bayle's note to the same effect in his widely-read

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1 Epistola xxx, Spinoza, *Opera*, Im Auftrage der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von Carl Gebhardt (Heidelberg, 1924), Vol. 4, p. 166.

2 Jean Brun, *La véritable religion des Hollandois* (Amsterdam, 1675): "... si l'on doit croire au titre, il n'est pas imprimé en ces Provinces, mais à Hambourg. Mais prenons que ce méchant livre soit imprimé en Hollande..." (p. 159); "Prenons pourtant... qu'il soit imprimé en ce paisicy..." (p. 160).

3 "Natales ejus tribuit inscriptio mendax Hamburgo, quos Amstelodamo, ubi Auctor vicissit dicitur, debere versimile est"; *Tractatus theologico-politicus ad veritatis lumen examinatus* (Jena, 1674), §1.

4 In a curious but knowledgeable book which describes the lives of famous scholars, writers

and widely-quoted Dictionary⁵ was repeated by many eighteenth century bibliographers.⁶ The identity of the publisher, however, remained in doubt for a long time. Johannes Colerus reported in his biography of Spinoza (1705) that Christoffel Conrad of Amsterdam had printed the *Tractatus*. "According to the title page of this wicked book it appeared that it was printed in Hamburg by Henricus Künrath [Colerus used the Dutch version of Hendrik Koenraad]. . . . However, the fact is that it was printed by Christoffel Conradus, printer of books at the Egelantiers-Gracht in Amsterdam, who, in 1679, when I was called to that city to become preacher of the Lutheran Congregation in Amsterdam, presented me with a number of copies without being aware that it was so dangerous a book."⁷ Seemingly contradictory information appeared in the diaries of two German scholars, Gottlieb Stolle (1673–1744), later professor of political science at the University of Jena, and an otherwise unidentified Dr. Hallmann who travelled in Holland during the year 1704. According to their diaries, which became known only in 1847,⁸ they visited Jan Rieuwerts the younger, an Amsterdam bookdealer who had taken over his father's business, and were told by him that his father had published the *Tractatus*. Jan Rieuwerts the elder, a member of the Collegiant sect, had been a friend of Spinoza. From 1646, when he founded his publishing firm, till his death in 1685, he had specialized in

and poets who, because of accident or moral depravity, came to an untimely or unusual end; *Felix Literatus ex infelicitum periculis et casibus, sive De vitiis literatorum commentationes historico-theosophicae* (Augsburg, 1676), p. 143: "Editus est hic. anon. de libertate philos. tract. non Hamburgi, ut mendax inscriptio habet, sed Amstelod. ubi auctor vixisse dicitur."

⁵ *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Rotterdam, 1702), Vol. 3, p. 2767: "son *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, imprimé à Amsterdam et non à Hambourg, comme on a mit dans le Titre."

⁶ Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1722), p. 63; Jean P. Nicéron, *Nouvelles littéraires, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1730), p. 46; Johann Anton Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon* (Leipzig and Bernburg, 1759), p. 420.

⁷ Korte, dog waaragtige levens-beschryving, van Benedictus de Spinosa (The Hague, 1880 [reprint]), pp. 45 f. The early translation of Colerus' biography into French (1706) gave a wrong rendering of this passage and the translations into English (1706) and German (1733), which are from the French, perpetuated the error. Some 18th century cataloguers used Colerus' information: "Quod non Hamburgi primum apud Henricum Kunrath, ut mentitur Index, sed Amstelodami, apud Christophorum Conrad in lucem exit"; Jacob Friderich Reimann, *Catalogus bibliothecae theologiae* (Hildesheim, 1731), p. 984.

⁸ E. G. Guhrer was the first to publish excerpts from Stolle's diaries: "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des 17. u. 18. Jahrhunderts aus den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Gottlieb Stollens," in *Allegemeine Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 7 (Berlin, 1847), pp. 399 ff. J. Freudenthal found a second manuscript of the diary, containing in addition large parts of Hallmann's travel notes, and published all passages pertaining to Spinoza in his collection of documents, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 221–32.

Collegiant, Mennonite and other heterodox books and tracts.⁹ Many carried his imprint; others hid their origin under fictitious names. Rieuwerts the younger told his visitors that nobody was interested in Spinoza anymore and he had therefore decided not to republish the *Pincipia Cartesii*, the philosopher's first book of which he had only two copies left, and the *Tractatus* though of this book, too, only a few copies remained.¹⁰

Colerus' and Stolle's reports do not contradict one another. Christoffel Conrad did print the *Tractatus* for the account of Jan Rieuwerts who published and distributed it.¹¹ Willem Meijer, the Dutch scholar who examined the problem of the *Tractatus*' publisher erred when he regarded the reports mutually exclusive. He never considered that the printer and the publisher could be two different persons, an arrangement not uncommon in the Holland of Spinoza's time. Further, the argument which he used to discredit Colerus' report, namely that Conrad would not have given Colerus a copy of the *Tractatus* had he known that Spinoza was the author, is strangely at variance with Colerus' story.¹²

Why did Rieuwerts and Spinoza exercise so much caution, hiding author and publisher under covers of anonymity and spuriousness, when they brought out the *Tractatus*? Was Holland not a country in which freedom of expression was secure? Indeed, such was Holland's reputation. Henry Oldenburg in London thought so and could not understand why Spinoza, living "in a republic so free that one can think as one wishes and express what one thinks,"¹³ was so reluctant to publish his true thoughts. But Spinoza and his publisher knew better. The orthodox Dutch theologians harassed any writer or publicist who leaned

⁹ A. M. Ledebor, *Alfabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Noord-Holland*, (Utrecht, 1876), p. 142.

¹⁰ Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 225; it is, of course, not true that Spinoza's philosophy had no followers ten years after his death.

¹¹ *Spinoza en zijn kring* (The Hague, 1896), p. 326 and M. M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1914), p. 623 n. 1. Their assertion is supported by the terminology used in the old reports. Colerus speaking of Conrad, used the word "print"; Stolle, quoting Rieuwerts, spoke of "publishing" (*auflegen*).

¹² "De veris et fictis Tractatus theologico-politici editoribus," in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, Vol. 1 (The Hague, 1921), p. 265: "Hunc autem librum, de quo agitur, non edidisse, inde patet, quod Colero librum dono dedit, quod nunquam fecisset, si scisset auctorem esse Spinozam."

¹³ Oldenburg to Spinoza, Epistola xiv, July 31, 1663; *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 70. See also Sir William Temple (British Ambassador at The Hague), "Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands (1668)," in *Works*, Vol. 1 (London, 1720), p. 59: "It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the Violence and Sharpness, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, seems to be appeased or softened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance . . . No Man can here complain of Pressure in his Conscience . . ."

toward heterodoxy and free thought. With relentless zeal, using theological arguments as well as political ones, and picturing the damage dangerous books did to the soul of man and would unfailingly do to the welfare of the commonwealth, the churchmen exerted heavy pressure on the civil authorities to confiscate such books. The reputation of Spinoza even before any of his "godless" writings appeared was bad. The rabbis had "banned and separated him from the people of Israel" because of the "horrendous heresies which he practiced and taught, and the monstrous actions which he committed."¹⁴ The Spanish Inquisition, as we know from the amazing recent finds by I. S. Revah in Madrid archives, kept him under surveillance.¹⁵ Closer to home, in Holland, his name was linked with suspicious religious and political circles. True, his first book, *Renati des Cartes principiorum philosophiae Pars I, & II, More Geometrico demonstratae*, published in 1663, had appeared under his full name. Rieuwerts's publishership had been freely acknowledged: "Apud Johannem Rieuwerts, in vico vulgò dicto, de Dirk van Assen-steeg, sub signo Martyrologii." But this book was not controversial. Little of its contents represented Spinoza's own ideas and it was less apt than many other contemporary works which dealt with Cartesian thought to add fuel to the fiery fights between the Cartesians and anti-Cartesians of Holland.¹⁶ Spinoza was only moderately interested in his book and revealed to his friend Oldenburg the reason for publishing it. "On account of it perhaps some men of high station in my country will want to see the other things which I have written and which I acknowledge as my truly own, and will see to it that I can publish them without facing dangerous risks."¹⁷ But trouble began brewing even before Spinoza's truly-own book appeared.

In 1665 Pieter de la Court (his Dutch name was van den Hove) who was a partisan of Jan de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland and ardent defender of states-rights, wrote a little book, *De jure ecclesiasticorum*, which incensed the

political reactionaries and the orthodox leaders of the Reformed Church, all of whom were unbendingly opposed to the liberal policies of De Witt. Without making any concessions, De la Court maintained that all ecclesiastic rights depend on the license granted by the state.¹⁸ The storm raised by the book was still raging when, a year later, another book took up the same argument, carrying it even further. Ludwig Meyer, an intimate friend of Spinoza and the editor of his first book, propounded in his *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpretis* that the authority of the state does not derive from ecclesiastic authority, that the true interpretation of the Scriptures is the philosophic one, that the power of the clergy ought to be sharply limited and that tolerance of infidels is in the interest of the state. Neither book appeared under its author's name. De la Court's work used the pseudonym "Lucius Antistius Constans" and a fictitious place of publication, Alethopolis (i.e., "Free City"). Most contemporaries participating in the widespread guessing game as to the identity of the authors ascribed the books, or at least one of them, to Spinoza.¹⁹ According to his earliest biographer, Jean Maximilien Lucas, Spinoza assured his best friends that he was not the author of De la Court's book.²⁰ Spinoza's intimate circle did not need such assurance. They well knew the identity of the men who publicized the new political philosophy; yet, even though some of them had a measure of influence in the community, they could not afford to contradict publicly the rumors spread to defame Spinoza.

Another incident, this time Spinoza's involvement in a heresy trial, must further have demonstrated to him the wisdom of prudence and anonymity. The defendants in this trial were two brothers, Adriaan and Johannes Koerbagh. Adriaan was a physician and jurist; Johannes a theologian. Both were friends of Spinoza. Adriaan was the author of *Een Bloemhof* ("A Flower Garden"),²¹

14 "... horrendas heregias, que practicava e ensinava e ynornes obras que obrava..."; from the ban as recorded in Spanish, Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 115.

15 I. S. Revah, *Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado* (Paris and The Hague, 1959); Revah uncovered reports submitted to the headquarters of the Inquisition in Madrid by its agents abroad, one a deposition by a priest, the other by a captain, both dated August, 1659, three years after Spinoza's expulsion from the Jewish Community (pp. 61-68).

16 Nicéron tells of vehement quarrels between two professors, G. de Vries and Burcher de Volder, at the University of Leiden and fist fights between their students: J. P. Nicéron, *Nachrichten von den Begebenheiten und Schriften berühmter Gelehrten mit einigen Zusätzen herausgegeben von Friedrich Eberhard Rambach*, Vol. 17 (Halle, 1758), p. 265. About the more academic aspects of the *querelle* see Francisque Bouillier, *Histoire de la philosophie Cartésienne*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1868), pp. 254-300; C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, "Le Cartésianisme aux Pays-Bas," in *Descartes et le cartésianisme hollandais*, Paris and Amsterdam, 1950, pp. 182 ff.; *idem*, *Nederlands Cartesianisme* (Amsterdam, 1954).

17 Epistola xiii, July 17/27 1663; *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 54.

18 The book's full title, which announces this thesis, is: *De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur; quod cunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, falsò impieque illis tribui, aut non aliunde, quam à suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sive civitatis prodiis, in quâ sunt constitui, accepisse.*

19 So do, considerably later, among others, Jacob Friderich Reimann, *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie insgemein und der Jüdischen Theologie ins besondere* (Magdeburg and Leipzig, 1717), p. 642, and Johannes Vogt, *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* (Hamburg, 1753), pp. 214, 639 f.

20 "La vie et l'esprit de M^r Benoit de Spinoza" (1719), in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 25.

21 *Een Bloemhof van allerley lieflykheid sonder verdriet geplant door Vrederyk Waarmond, onder-soeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uytlegging van al de Hebreusche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die... soo inde Godsgeleertheid, regtsgeleertheid, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en weetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruik van spreken, inde Nederduytse taal gebruykt worden* (Leiden, 1668). Other copies carry a new title page with the author's true name and the imprint "t'Amsterdam, Gedrukt voor den Schrijver. In 't jaer 1668." ("Amsterdam, Printed for the author, 1668.")

ostensibly a dictionary of theological, legal and medical foreign terms as well as foreign words in conversational Dutch, however presenting within that frame-work a radical critique of religious dogma. Johannes was suspected of harboring beliefs highly improper for a theologian. After they had often clashed with the church authorities, the brothers were tried by the magistrate of Amsterdam. Again and again on July 20, 1668, while Adriaan was under examination, the prosecutor questioned him about his relations with Spinoza and attempted to obtain from him a confession that he had discussed his book with Spinoza, that it contained Spinoza's teachings and, in particular, that his opinions on Jesus had been influenced by talks with Spinoza.²² Adriaan was condemned to 10 years in prison, but subjected to such cruel torture while he was in jail that he died in October, 1669.

Rieuwertsz, the publisher, also had cause to be particularly careful at the time the *Tractatus* was in preparation. In the spring of 1669 a newly printed collection of Socinian and related writings, *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, had appeared in Amsterdam and was sold through clandestine channels. The Church Council of Amsterdam, furious that the archenemy "raised his head so arrogantly," ordered an investigation and issued specific instructions "that the shop of Jan Rieuwertsz in Dirck van Assensteech be watched."²³ Amid all these forebodings of imminent danger the *Tractatus* was approaching publication.

Before we follow the early history of the book, one point remains to be considered: Why did Rieuwertsz, or Rieuwertsz and Spinoza, pick the name "Künraht" for the fictitious imprint? Willem Meijer has pointed out²⁴ that the name was used in other books of the period for the same purpose. He suggested that Rieuwertsz may have alluded to Henricus Künrath, a Rosicrucian and author of the occult book, *Amphitheatrum sapientiae aeternae solius verae, Christiano-Kabalisticum, Divino-Magicum* . . . , which appeared in Hamburg in 1611, 1648 and 1651. This conjecture, in Meijer's opinion, is supposed by the fact that Spinoza was rumored to be himself a Rosicrucian.²⁵ However, the three examples of similar use cited by Meijer are books which appeared after the *Tractatus*, and two of them, the *Specimen artis ratiocinandi* by Spinoza's

friend, Abraham Johannes Cuffeler (1684) and *La vie de Spinoza par un de ses disciples* (1735), use Künrath's name in imitation of the imprint of the *Tractatus*. Vincentius Placcius, the eighteenth century bibliographer, working with a slightly changed spelling of the name (Kühnraht), supposed the name had been used for its etymological meaning, *Kühn-Raht* signifying "audacious counsel."²⁶ Of course, lacking any contemporary clues, nobody can at this late date state with accuracy why the name "Künraht" was chosen. J. P. N. Land simply and *en passant* assumed that the name had reference to Christoffel Conrad, the printer.²⁷ This seems more plausible than the other explanations because in Dutch Conrad's name appears as Coenradt, Cunradus or Kunrad.²⁸

The *Tractatus* appeared late in 1669 or early in 1670.²⁹ It did not take long for a barrage of vilification to be hurled at the book. Some of the professors and clergymen who raised their voices in shrill anger knew the author's name. But whether they knew or not made no difference; their reaction was equally vituperative. Franz Burmann the elder, professor of theology at the University of Utrecht, read the book in April, 1670, excerpted it, noted the author's name carefully in his diary and wrote on July 5 to his friend, the Hebraist Jacobus Alting of Groningen, imploring him to "smash and destroy this exceedingly pestilential book."³⁰ On May 8, Jacob Thomasius, Leibniz' teacher at the University of Leipzig, thundered in an academic "program" against the *Tractatus* and its author, "that abominable monster shunning the light."³¹ On

22 "Confessieboek, Stedelijk Archief, Amsterdam," in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 119 ff.

A detailed report of the entire trial is found in Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 293-324.

23 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 325 f.

24 "De veris et fictis *Tractatus Theologico-politici* editoribus," pp. 265 ff.

25 The same argument was advanced by Charles Singer, "The Pseudonym of Spinoza's Publisher," in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol. 1 (London, 1937), pp. 77 f. This note also asserts that Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (Amsterdam, 1677), "bears at the foot of the title page the name of Jan Rieuwertsz, the younger." This is false. The *Opera* carries on its title page only the year of publication, 1677, without any indication of the place of publication or the name of the publisher.

26 *Theatrum pseudonymorum et anonymorum*, Vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1708), p. 176.

27 "Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*," in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letter-kunde*, 2^{de} reeks, deel XI (Amsterdam, 1882), p. 151.

28 A. M. Ledebor, *Alfabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers*, pp. 39, 102; M. M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam*, pp. 622 ff. The title page of the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus* spells the name of the publisher "Koenraad."

29 "... aut exeunte anno LXIX, aut ineunte LXX typis describi debuerit"; Franz Burman the younger, *Burmannonum pietas* (Utrecht, 1700), p. 204. Meinsma stated that the *Tractatus* appeared in the first week of January 1670, but he did not mention the source for this exact date; *Spinoza en zijn kring*, p. 328.

30 Franz Burman the younger, *Burmannonum pietas*, pp. 211, 228 f. Ironically, Burmann the elder (1628-1679) later was accused of being a Spinozist. Philipp Limborch, the famous Remonstrant theologian in *Theologia Christiana* (1678) denounced him for having inserted in his *Synopsis theologiae* Spinozistic phrases. Burmann's son wrote *Burmannonum pietas* to vindicate his father.

31 Thomasius' academic "program" appeared for the first time in print together with an equally abusive speech made by Johannes Conrad Dürr, professor of philosophy and theology, in June, 1671, at the University of Altdorf: *M. Johannis Conradi Dürrii . . . Actus panegyricus . . . Habes hic, lectore benevole, . . . Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi, praesertim in religionis negotio, oppositum Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae . . .*

June 1 Friedrich Rappolt in his inaugural oration at the University of Leipzig denounced the naturalism in "that extremely bad book."³² In August, Johann Melchior, a preacher in a village near Bonn, enlightened a friend about "the deceits of this man of extraordinary insolence ['a descendent of Xinospa'] woven to confuse the truth of our faith."³³ In 1671 Johann Ludwig Fabricius, professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Heidelberg, called for the suppression of the "brazen" book to keep it away from Germany and German students.³⁴ And so it went on, *crescendo*, each outburst taking its cue from preceding ones, heaping abuse upon abuse.

The Dutch theologians were not as quick as the Germans to send their denunciations to the printer.³⁵ A Heidelberg professor, Friedrich Miege, reported to a colleague in Herborn that the publication of the *Tractatus* had created turbulence in Holland;³⁶ but the first anti-Spinozistic book by a Dutch author, a Remonstrant preacher at The Hague, appeared only in 1673. He was Jacob Batelier (Vatellier, Batalerius), who warned the civil authorities that the *Tractatus* was to undermine the foundations of the entire state.³⁷

The church authorities of Holland did not wait for encouragement from the learned writers of the land. Their crusade opened on June 30, 1670, when the

Accessit ejusdem argumenti Programma Lipsiense M. Jacobi Thomasii . . . (Jena, 1672). This booklet erroneously gives the date of Thomasius' "program" as May 8, 1671. The collection of Thomasius' dissertations, *Dissertationes LXIII* (Halle and Magdeburg, 1693), p. 571, contains the correct date which is also supported by a letter from Leibniz to Thomasius, September, 1670; Ludwig Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza* (Berlin, 1890), p. 32.

³² "Oratio contra naturalistas," in Rappolt, *Opera theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica* (Leipzig, 1693), pp. 1383 ff., 2168.

³³ Published a year later under the title *Epistola ad amicum, continens censuram libri, cui titulus: Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Utrecht, 1671).

³⁴ Joh. Ludovici Fabricii *Opera, omnia, quibus praemittitur Historia vitae et obitus ejusdem, auctore Joh. Henrico Heideggero* (Zurich, 1698), pp. 70 f. of the *Historia*. Ironically, it was this same Fabricius who, two years later, in behalf of the more enlightened Elector of the Palatinate, offered Spinoza a professorship at the University of Heidelberg.

³⁵ For this they were reproached in Jean-Baptiste Stouppé's *La religion des Hollandois* (Paris, 1673): "Entre tous les Theologiens qui sont dans ce pais, il ne s'en trouve aucun qui ait osé écrire contre les opinions que cet Auteur avance dans son Traité . . . S'ils continuent dans ce silence, on ne pourra s'empêcher de dire, ou qu'ils n'ont point de charité, en laissant sans réponse un Livre si pernicieux, ou qu'ils approuvent les sentimens de cet Auteur, ou qu'ils n'ont pas le courage & la force de les refuter." (pp. 94 f.)

³⁶ Miege to Samuel Andreae, June 28, 1670; in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 139.

³⁷ *Vindiciae miraculorum, per quae divinae religionis & fidei Christianae veritas olim confirmata suit, adversus profanum auctorem Tractatus theologico-politici* (Amsterdam, 1673). All seventeenth and eighteenth century sources cite this little book as having appeared in 1674. Thus it is listed in the Spinoza bibliography by van der Linde who could not locate a copy. The copy of the British Museum is of 1674, mine of 1673. Batelier completed the writing of the book on January 23, 1672.

Church Council of Amsterdam, convoked in a special session, resolved to ask the County Synod and the Synod of the Province to note "the impudence of the Papacy and the Socinians, and the licentious printing of books, particularly of that pernicious book called *Tractatus theologico-politicus*."³⁸ The preachers well understood that the *Tractatus* was not merely another piece of errant theological writing. They realized it was a *political* book which supported the supremacy of the state's authority against any encroachments by religion. They knew that the author had in mind the current state of Dutch affairs, namely the fight of the Reformed Church against the Republican States-Rights party and its leader, Jan de Witt, when they read in the preface of the *Tractatus*: "It is first necessary to show the main prejudices which surround religion, namely the vestiges of ancient servitude, and then to show the prejudices surrounding the right of the sovereign authorities which many with impudent brazenness attempt to usurp by trying to alienate, under the cover of religion, the minds of the people in order to throw everything again into servitude."³⁹ It was clear to the church leaders that in their war against the *Tractatus* no effective support could be expected from the high state authorities whose case was so forcefully pleaded in the book, more aggressively in fact than some thought was politically wise. But even if the churchmen had to soft-pedal the political aspects, they could still incite influential religious assemblies and stir up public opinion against the book by denouncing its atheism. Thus during the years following the publication of the *Tractatus* local protest actions were organized in various cities and higher church authorities were approached with the urgent demand that prominent citizens and civil authorities be pressured into action.⁴⁰

The example of the Church Council of Amsterdam was followed by other local church authorities. The Synods of North and South Holland, Utrecht, Dordrecht and Friesland met and voted to demand that the *Tractatus* be banned. Eventually, a resolution to that effect reached the President and Councillors of the Court of Holland. They, in turn, forwarded it to the States of Holland and West Friesland. On April 24, 1671, the States referred to a commission the request "to prevent that such books be printed, distributed and sold here; to prohibit by a special ordinance the printing, importing and selling of such soul-corrupting books under severe penalty; to find the authors, printers, importers and distributors and proceed against them once they have been found."⁴¹ But the commission did not act. Petitions and reports became mysteriously lost.

³⁸ Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 121.

³⁹ *Opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Vol. 3, p. 7. Anti-Jan de Witt pamphlets, distributed in 1672, went as far as to say that the *Tractatus*, "forged in Hell by a Jew turned apostate together with the devil" had been published with the knowledge of De Witt; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 194 f.

⁴⁰ The pertinent documents are published in Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 121-154.

⁴¹ Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 126.

The members of the committee, as they explained, were so busy with work on other committees that they had no time to call the committee on dangerous atheistic books. Jan de Witt and some of Spinoza's friends in civil posts were still powerful enough to brake any move that might harm their friend. There were Johann Hudde, the mayor of Amsterdam, who had discussed with the philosopher the art of grinding lenses as well as the proofs for God's unity;⁴² Abraham Cuffeler, who later was to write a book defending Spinoza's philosophy;⁴³ Conrad Burgh, comptroller general of Holland, whose son Albert was Spinoza's disciple; and others, less well-known but also helpful. Jan de Witt was murdered in 1672, yet Spinoza's friends were still, for some time, able to postpone the banning of the book. Even after William of Orange and the Court of Holland in July, 1674, had issued an edict ordering the confiscation of the *Tractatus*, not much official effort was put into its enforcement. The church councils and synods complained bitterly that the godless book was still for sale and urged their deputies again to bombard the authorities with appeals for relief. Only in 1678, after Spinoza's death and the publication of his *Opera posthuma* in Latin as well as in a Dutch translation, was an edict issued, against the *Opera* and the *Tractatus*, which had teeth. Finally, a secular power was willing to back the churches; for a long time not too effective, assault against unorthodox philosophy and theology. William of Orange could not afford to antagonize the Reformed Church and its ministers and thus lose their support in maintaining and fortifying his power.

Until that year, however, the *Tractatus*, though under constant attack, had been available to be purchased, read, discussed and even, sometimes, defended. For at least seven years, judging from the frantic reports of the church councils and synods, there had been no interruption in the supply of the book in its original Latin form. Ingenious devices were used by the publisher to deceive the censors, and thereby hangs the complex and fascinating bibliographical tale of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

For almost 100 years it has been known that the first quarto edition of 1670 of the *Tractatus* was in truth several editions. In 1865, Johann Georg Theodor Graesse became the first to notice that copies of the "first edition" showed variants. The spelling of the fictitious name of the publisher varied. It was "Künraht" in some copies, "Künrath" in others. The last printed page, p. 234, containing the "Errata typographica sic corrigenda" was not found in all copies, and the heading "Praefatio" (following the title page), he said, was set in different type-sizes.

42 Epistolae XXXIV–XXXVI, *Opera*, Vol. 4, pp. 179–187.

43 *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & artificialis ad pantosophiae principia manuducens* (Hamburg [Amsterdam], 1684).

(Graesse slightly errs here; the type-size in "Praefatio" is the same, merely the spacing is different.)⁴⁴ In 1880 Max Heinze went a step further. He compared a "Künraht" with a "Künrath" version and found in the latter "the errors listed on the last page mostly corrected, but new ones added, some of which distort the meaning."⁴⁵ In the following year J.P.N. Land, a Dutch orientalist and professor of philosophy, who, with J. van Vloten, was preparing a critical edition of Spinoza's works, made a thorough comparison of copies of the *Tractatus* in various libraries and collections and succeeded in finding four different printings, each bearing the year 1670.⁴⁶

More recently in this century Carl Gebhardt in his critical edition of the *Tractatus* confirmed Land's findings and further secured them through a more comprehensive collation of the various editions. He also accepted Land's conclusions as to the years in which they were printed and further supplemented them: only one edition, the true *editio princeps*, was of 1670, and three others were published after the ban of the *Tractatus* in 1674 and predated 1670; two of these were printed after 1677.⁴⁷ However, though the sequence of the quarto editions is correct as Land and Gebhardt determined it, their dating is not. An edition unknown to them changes that part of their findings. And, as we will show, Gebhardt's conclusions regarding the octavo editions of the *Tractatus* with which Land was not concerned are entirely incorrect.

The First Edition (T.₁)

The genuine first edition of the *Tractatus* which appeared late in 1669 or early 1670 (T.₁) is the one designated as such by Land and Gebhardt (Land: A; Gebhardt: Druck 1). It spells the fictitious publisher's name "Künraht," contains all the typographical errors enumerated in the list of errata and misprints page

44 *Trésor des livres rares et précieux*, Vol. 6 (Dresden, 1865), p. 469. A. van der Linde remained unaware of Graesse's observations; his Spinoza bibliography (1871) describes a copy of the Library at The Hague which is not the true first edition.

45 Überweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Max Heinze, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1880), p. 220. Heinze also, wrongly, concluded that there was a "third edition" which Paulus had followed in his edition of Spinoza's works, identical with the "second edition" but omitting the Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament. Heinze should not be blamed for this mistake; Paulus had claimed to follow the original faithfully; "Nostra editio unam illam originariam accurate sequitur"; *Benedicti de Spinoza Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Henr. Eberh. Gottlob Paulus, Vol. 1 (Jena, 1802), p. vi, but probably because of the difficulties of setting Hebrew type, he had omitted all lengthy Hebrew passages.

46 "Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*," pp. 148–158.

47 *Opera*, Vol. 3, pp. 363–372, particularly p. 367. A summary of Land's and Gebhardt's designation of editions and their dates is given in A. G. Wernham's "Introduction to the Text" of his edition and translation of Spinoza's *Political Works* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 42 f.

104 as 304.⁴⁸ As Land and Gebhardt have shown, it must have preceded all the others. "Each printing was obviously the model for the following printing. This is evidenced by a number of instances in which the text of the later printings shows more corruptions than the first one; by certain textual changes in which a text, initially correct, became corrupted and was then, more or less adequately, corrected by a conjecture of the later typesetter; or finally by typographical improvements made in the later printings."⁴⁹ An additional piece of supporting, though not conclusive, evidence can be added. The earliest Dutch writer attacking the *Tractatus*, Jacob Batelier, wrote his philippic in 1671 and reprinted in it the entire sixth chapter of Spinoza's work copying from T.₁.⁵⁰

When Land deduced that there had to be such a first edition and was searching for it, he found only one copy, in the University Library of Königsberg, which carried a number of Spinoza's handwritten marginal annotations. The philosopher had inscribed it on July 25, 1676, to Dr. Jacob Statius Klefman. However T.₁ is not so rare as it seemed to Land; a number of libraries and collections have it.⁵¹

The Second Edition (T.₂ and T._{2a})

The second edition (T.₂) is dated 1672 (Fig. 1). Its title page is identical with T.₁, excepting the last line which reads: Apud Henricum Künraht. MDCLXXII.

⁴⁸ I list merely the main distinguishing features which are sufficient to identify the various editions. The most detailed listing of variants, through by no means complete, is given by Gebhardt, *Opera*, Vol. 3 pp. 364–371.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁵⁰ *Vindiciae miraculorum*, pp. 9–34; about this book see above, note 35. Its rarity is probably due to the fact that it contained, in full, Spinoza's strong attack against miracles and thus became, in spite of its good intentions, a dangerous book also.

⁵¹ Nevertheless antiquarian bookdealers usually offer this edition as "Unknown to van der Linde; only one other copy known at the University Library at Königsberg."

As a matter of fact, the Klefmann copy, which in the beginning of the nineteenth century Professor Schuetz of Königsberg had purchased at an auction and given to the library of Count Wallenrod which later became part of the Königsberg University Library, is no longer there. In the last year of World War II, Professor Oskar Ehrhardt of the University found it lying in a street of the burning city. He gave it to his son-in-law, Hans Iwand, professor of theology at the University of Göttingen. Iwand offered the book to Mr. van der Tak of the Dutch association *Het Spinoza Huis* in Amsterdam. However, for reasons not entirely clear, nothing came of this offer (*Verslag omtrent de lotgevallen der Vereeniging Het Spinozahuis*, 1950 and 1951). In February, 1951, Professor Iwand donated the precious book, the only Spinoza association copy in existence, to the Spinozaeum in Haifa, Israel — in memory, as he wrote, "of my wife just deceased whose mother belonged to the same people to whom we are indebted for the philosopher of the Theologico-Political Treatise and the *Ethics more geometrico demonstrata*." (According to information furnished to me by C. Worman, director of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.)

TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO- POLITICUS

Continens

Differtationes aliquot,

*Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum
salva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace posse concedi: sed
eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipsaque
Pietate tolli non posse.*

*Benedictus Auctore Spinoza.
Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII.*

*Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet
in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.*



Figure 1. The Second Edition of 1672 (T.₂).

It contains the list of errata on the last page; however six of the thirteen typographical errors enumerated in it are corrected in the text. A number of Latin and Hebrew words and phrases printed correctly in T.₁ are misspelled or rendered incorrectly. A few misprints of T.₁ are remedied. T.₂ is easily recognizable by three typographical errors: page 42 reads 24, page 207 reads 213, Cap. XIV on page 161 reads Cap. XVI.

To the best of my knowledge, none of the early bibliographical listings of Spinoza's works mentioned this edition. The first indication that there was such an edition appeared in Emil Weller's bibliography of masked places of printing, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* (Leipzig, 1864).⁵² Then a copy appeared in 1893 in Catalogue No. 29 of the Leipzig firm of Max Weg, part of a rich collection of books by and about Spinoza⁵³ which an American philanthropist, Abraham Abraham, donated to the library of Cornell University. Stanislaus von Dunin Borkowski briefly referred to T.₂ and its rarity.⁵⁴ Of the two copies which he mentions, one at the Museum Gebhardtianum and the other in the University Library in Zurich, Switzerland, the former is now in the library of Columbia University. A fourth copy is in my collection.

Since Gebhardt did not know T.₂ at the time he edited the Heidelberg edition of Spinoza's works, he missed the clue to the correct chronology of the second edition. For the issue which Gebhardt designated as Druck II (Land: B) is in all details identical with T.₂ except that its title page bears the year 1670. A close examination of the title pages of T.₂ and Gebhardt's Druck II (which we will call T._{2a}) shows that both are integral parts of the first sheets; identical to the extent that in both the dot over the "i" in "dedit" is missing; merely the last line containing the date, is different, giving it as either MDCLXXII or MDCLXX. Obviously only this line was reset to substitute 1670 for 1672; otherwise the type remained unchanged. Copies of T.₂, those dated 1672, are very rare whereas copies of T._{2a}, the same printing with the date 1670, occur more often. Evidently the change from 1672 to 1670 was made after only relatively few sheets had come off the press. Land and Gebhardt set the date of publication of T._{2a} as after 1674, some time between 1674 and 1677. The existence of T.₂, however, invalidates their conclusion; the correct date of T._{2a} is 1672. Theoretically, of course, it also would be possible that T._{2a} preceded T.₂, but since all later quarto editions carry the date 1670, this possibility is unlikely. The purpose of the change from T.₂ to T._{2a} as well as of the later editions dated 1670 was to make it appear that the copies were of the original edition, since a new edition would

provide new ammunition for the groups clamoring for the ban of the book.

A letter from Spinoza written on February 17, 1671, to Jarig Jelles, a Collegiant friend who had financed the printing of his first book, reflects the apprehension which the moves of his enemies had produced in the philosopher. Spinoza had learned from a professor visiting him that "someone had translated the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* into Dutch and someone else, he did not know who, planned to have it printed. I urge you most seriously to learn whether this is true and, if possible, prevent the publication. This is not only my wish, but also the wish of my good acquaintances who would hate to see the book banned which doubtless would happen if it comes out in Dutch."⁵⁵ Here and there a local official went ahead on his own and confiscated the *Tractatus*.⁵⁶ But in the summer of 1672 it appeared that the concerted efforts of the orthodox church groups had been checked by official indifference and delaying tactics; from September, 1671, to July, 1672, the church councils and synods were silent. It was probably at that time that Rieuwertsz made the plans for the edition of 1672. However, on August 4, 1672, Jan de Witt was forced to resign as Grand Pensionary and, a few weeks later, a savage mob murdered him in the streets of Amsterdam. Spinoza had lost his great protector. It seems reasonable to assume that at that time T.₂ was changed to T._{2a}. And as the political climate worsened after De Witt's death, greater prudence became necessary. Thus, the next edition of the *Tractatus* appeared even more masked than the previous ones.

The Third Edition (T._{3H}, T._{3V}, T._{3S}, T._{3T}, T._{3E})

The third edition of the *Tractatus* was published in 1673 and the title page did not reveal its contents at all. It appeared in octavo with a choice of three fictitious title pages so that, depending on which was used, the dangerous book seemed to be an innocuous collection of the surgical works of Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta, a contemporary Spanish physician and professor at the University of Alcalá de Henares, the historical writings of Daniel Heinsius, the great Dutch classicist (1580–1655), or a medical book by Franciscus de la Boe Sylvius, famous professor of medicine at Leyden (1614–1672) who had just died. The titles of this third edition read as follows:

⁵² Epistola XLIV, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 227.

⁵³ On April 12, 1671, Johann Georg Graevius, professor of eloquence in Utrecht, informed Leibniz that Spinoza was the author of the *Tractatus*, that it had been "outlawed" by the authorities ("proscriptus est ab Ordinibus"), but that he could get him a copy; Leibniz, *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. C. J. Gerhard, Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1875), p. 115. On September 14–18, 1671, the Synod of Utrecht reported about its drive against heretical books: "Nothing has been done yet with respect to the *Leviathan* [by Hobbes]; the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* has been confiscated; the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* [a collection of Socinian writings] has not been for sale here." Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 130, 270, note to p. 125, No. 36.

⁵² Vol. 1, p. 274.

⁵³ *Bibliotheca Spinozana. Eine überaus reichhaltige Sammlung von Schriften von und über Benedictus Spinoza. Neben fast allen bekannten Bildnissen Spinozas* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Spinoza*, Vol. 4 (Münster i. W., 1936), p. 85.

The Villacorta Edition (T₃V): Francisci Henriquez/de/Villacorta/Doctoris Medici/à Cubiculo Regali Phil: IV. & Caroli II./Archiatr./Opera Chirurgica Omnia/Sub auspiciis Potentissimi Hispp. Regis/Carolii II/[Vignette]/Amstelodami/Apud Jacobum Paulii/1673./

The Heinsius Edition (T₃H): Danielis Heinsii P.P./Operum/Histori-/corum/Collectio/Prima./Editio Secunda, priori editione multo emen-/dator & auctor/accedunt quaedam hactenus inedita./[Vignette]/Lugd. Batav./Apud Isaacum Herculis/1673./

The Sylvius Edition (T₃S): Totius/Medicinae/idea nova/seu/Francisci de le Boe/Sylvii./Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi/Opera Omnia/Novas potissimum super morborum causis, sympto-/matis & curandi ratione meditationes &/disputationes continentia/Secunda Editio/ad Autoris exemplar correcta./[Vignette]/Amstelodami/Apud Carolum Gratiani,/1673./

T₃ was printed and appeared together, in one volume, with Ludwig Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. The appended work also was without any indication of its true identity, hiding under the same spurious titles. In T₃H and T₃S the inside title pages preceding the *Philosophia* alleged that the second work was the second part of the collection; in T₃V the second title page merely showed a different vignette.⁵⁷ The printer of T₃ no doubt is the same as that of the quarto editions; the vignette on the second title of T₃V is identical with the title vignette of the quarto editions. The three title variants of T₃ seemingly appeared at the same time during the year 1673.⁵⁸ In most of the few existing copies the title pages are not cancels; each of the different title pages is an integral part of the first sheet of T₃V, T₃H or T₃S;⁵⁹ one copy came to light (in Rijnsburg, Holland) which has all of the three titles (T₃S/H/V).⁶⁰

57 The fact that Meyer's *Philosophia* appeared with the *Tractatus* in one volume contributed to ascribing the authorship of the former work to Spinoza; see above, p. 11.

Christoph August Heumann, an eighteenth century bibliographer discussing the masked editions of Meyer's book, suggested a ludicrous reason for the use of the name Villacorta; the names Meyer and Villacorta, he said, mean etymologically the same, namely "administrator of a country home," "Meier" in German, "villicus" in Latin; *De libris anonymis ac pseudonymis schediasma* (Jena, 1711), pp. 100f.

58 See the resolutions quoted p. 20.

59 Information from Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, Germany; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria; Landesbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany. The title pages preceding Meyer's *Philosophia* are also not cancels.

60 W. Meijer, *Spinoza, Een levensbeeld* (Amsterdam, 1915), p. 33, n. 13. The first French translation of the *Tractatus* which appeared in 1678 under three different fictitious titles was handled similarly. My collection contains four variants with seven different title pages. One copy bears the title *La Clef du sanctuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siècle*. The title of the second copy reads *Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes*. A third copy has three title pages namely *Traité des ceremonies, Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit*

The ruse of using an inoffensive author and title to cover the censurable book⁶¹ was quickly discovered. On December 8, 1673, the Church Council of Leiden announced "that a certain book, named *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Philosophia Scripturae interpres*, both in octavo and bound in one, have been printed and published under fictitious titles. The first bears the title *Francisci de la Boe Sylvii Opera Medica Omnia, Editio secunda*, printed in Amsterdam by Gratianum. The second has for a title page *Danielis Heinsii p.p. operum Historicorum Collectio secunda* at Leiden [by] Isaak Hercules. Thus the names of honest and learned gentlemen are being shamefully misused and transformed. The Reverend Assembly having listened to this with abhorrence recommends after due consideration approaching not only the relatives of said gentlemen, but also appealing . . . [to the authorities] that such doings be vigorously stopped and prevented."⁶² Five days later the States of Holland and West-Friesland acknowledged the information received from Leiden and resolved to petition the Court of Holland to consider measures "how and in which way irreligious books under false titles can be stopped and prevented."⁶³ On July 19, 1674, the Court of Holland condemned the *Tractatus* and the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* and prohibited their printing, distribution and sale.⁶⁴

The prosecution of the octavo edition of the *Tractatus* was effective.⁶⁵ In his

des-intéressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier, and La Clef du sanctuaire. The first two title pages of this third copy are cancels and the first and third differ from those of the first and second copies (different type sizes, different spacing and different title vignettes); otherwise the three copies are identical. My fourth copy has two titles, *Reflexions* and *Traité*, the first a cancel. This copy is a new printing in its entirety; the type throughout is slightly larger and considerably clearer; the issue can be identified by the misprint PREEACE on page 16 of the introduction.

Morelli, a Jewish physician turned Catholic, who was a friend of the French translator, Gabriel de Saint-Glain, told Des Maizeaux, the annotator of Bayle's letters, that the original title used for the translation was *La Clef du sanctuaire*. This title, however, created such a commotion that it was decided to change it to *Traité* and *Reflexions*; Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses*, Vol. 4 (The Hague, 1737), p. 574, note to letter XXXIII.

61 Using unobjectionable title pages for heretical or subversive books is a time-honored device; see Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, Nouvelle edition, Vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1725), pp. 170 f. In the forties of the nineteenth century, the liberal and early Socialist writings of German political refugees were smuggled into Germany under such titles as *Hausbuch für das christliche Heim* ("Family Book for the Christian Home"). In our days, clandestine anti-Hitler literature appeared in Nazi Germany with titles bearing swastikas and Hitler slogans. Allied propaganda literature dropped over Germany by planes and balloons was similarly disguised.

62 Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 136 f.

63 *Ibid.*, pp. 137 f.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 139 f.

65 "Ses Sectateurs n'osent pas se découvrir, parce que son Livre renverse absolument les fon-

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-POLITICVS,
Cui adjunctus est
Philosophia S. Scripturæ
INTERPRES.

Spinoza
Ab Authore longé Emendatior.



—cave ne titubet; latet Anguis in herba¹.

Anno Dom. 1674.

Figure 2. The Third Edition with the "English" Title Page.

day, van der Linde could not locate one copy in Holland⁶⁶ and only a few copies found their way abroad.⁶⁷ Faced with the quick discovery of the "fraud" and the unequivocal prohibition of the sale of the book which made distribution in Holland impossible, the publisher, however, found another channel to dispose of his stock. T.₃E, equipped with a new title page was sold in England (T.₃E).⁶⁸

The "English" title page openly disclosed the contents of the book; in the absence of prosecution there was no need to hide what was in the volume. The new title page (Fig. 2) read *Tractatus / Theologico-Politicus, / Cui adjunctus est / Philosophia S. Scripturæ / Ab Authore longé Emendatior* / [Vignette] / Anno Dom. 1674. / A cancel, it was pasted to the first page after the fictitious title pages had been removed. The second titles which had separated the *Tractatus* from the *Philosophia* were not replaced, the new title page listing both works.

Type and style for the title page of this new variant of the third edition were chosen to give it an English appearance. It leads off with a line in Pierre Haultin's St. Augustin Roman and has three lines in Nicholas Nicholls's Great Primer Roman and Italic besides one in a Double Pica Roman also sold by Nicholls. These and the flower are all found in London printing at the time and the letters also in Leonard Lichfield's at Oxford. The flower appears in London books from 1657 until 1673 through, in all probability, it was originally Dutch. The Romans and Italics of the Nicholls foundry in London are also found in books printed at Amsterdam. Although the type of T.₃E is old and worn, it looks as if it was originally cast too regularly for an English founder and the matrices were Dutch. Thus it seems justified to assume that the "English" title originated in Holland, an assumption further supported by the skill, a bit foreign to England,

demens de toutes les Religions, & qu'il a esté condamné par un decret public des Etats, & qu'on a deffendu de le vendre, bien qu'on ne laisse pas de le vendre publiquement." Stoupe, *La Religion des Hollandois*, pp. 93 f.

⁶⁶ *Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, Nos. 4 (Halle), 5 (Gotha) and 6 (Vienna).

⁶⁷ E. Böhmer, whose diligent and systematic search unearthed so many treasures of Spinoza literature, discovered copies in the German libraries of Berlin, Dresden, Gotha, Leipzig, Halle and in Vienna; "Spinozana," in *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, Vol. 36 (1860), pp. 150 f. Some of these copies perished in World War II. So did an incomplete copy of T.₃H, the second part containing Meyer's *Philosophia*, from the Spinoza collection, Catalogue 598 of Joseph Baer & Co., antiquarian bookdealers in Frankfurt-on-Main (No. 101). This collection (*Spinoza. Katalog einer Sammlung seiner Werke, der Schriften seiner Anhänger und Schüler und der Literatur über ihn*), acquired in 1911 for Konstantin Brunner and later given by the German government to the University of Louvain, Belgium, as partial restitution for the burning-down of its library in World War I, was destroyed in May, 1940, when for the second time the entire library became a war casualty.

⁶⁸ There are other instances of seventeenth century Dutch-printed books (Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Socinian writings) which were imported into England. (Information from William A. Jackson, Librarian, Houghton Library, Harvard University.)

with which the title is spaced (lead and letter-spaced).⁶⁹ Some of the old bibliographers already knew that T₃E was an "English" edition. J.C. Wolf noted that the edition had been published in England;⁷⁰ Gottlieb Stolle, the German scholar who had visited young Rieuwerts,⁷¹ wrote of the rarity of "the English edition printed 1674 in octavo";⁷² and Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten stated "that according to the consensus of writers arrangements for the edition were made in England."⁷³ Walch and Trinius went further and asserted that Henry Oldenburg had managed the edition.⁷⁴ However, it is plainly impossible that Spinoza's old English friend was involved in the salvage operation. True, it was he who had urged Spinoza in 1665 to write the *Tractatus*,⁷⁵ but soon after that letter their correspondence stopped. Oldenburg was in trouble, suspected "of carrying on political correspondence with parties abroad, obnoxious to Charles II and the Government" and, in 1667, he was for a short while imprisoned in the Tower.⁷⁶ This was certainly reason enough not to compromise himself further by a close association with a dangerous political philosopher living in a country with which England was at war. The estrangement lasted until 1675, two years after T₃E appeared. In that year Count Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus, a young scientist and correspondent of Spinoza, was in London to meet the members of the Royal Society and found Oldenburg and Robert Boyle, the physicist and chemist, harboring odd opinions about Spinoza and the *Tractatus*. Tschirnhaus succeeded in clearing up the misunderstanding,⁷⁷ and Oldenburg resumed writing to his old friend. On June 8, 1675, he thanked Spinoza for sending him a copy of the *Tractatus* (though he had not yet received it)⁷⁸—conclusive proof that he had nothing to do with the publication in 1674 of T₃E.

The old bibliographers did not recognize that T₃E was T₃V, H or S with a

69 Information from H.G. Carter, Oxford, England, to whom I am deeply grateful for his typographical examination of the title page of T₃E.

70 *Bibliotheca hebraea*, Vol. 1 (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1715), p. 240.

71 See above pp. 9–10.

72 *Anmerkungen über D. Heumanns Conspectum reipublicae literariae* (Jena, 1738), p. 977.

73 *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, Vol. 9 (Halle, 1756), pp. 319 f. See also his *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek*, Vol. 1 (Halle, 1748), p. 74.

74 Io. Georgius Walch, *Bibliotheca theologica selecta*, Vol. 1 (Jena, 1757), p. 679; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420.

75 See above p. 10.

76 Charles Richard Weld, *A History of the Royal Society* (London, 1848), pp. 201 ff.

77 As G.H. Schuller, another of Spinoza's friends, reported to him in Epistola LXIII, July 25, 1675, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 276; Tschirnhaus' book, *Medicina mentis et corporis*, published at Leipzig in 1695, long after Spinoza's death, quotes Spinoza a great deal though never mentioning him by name, referring to him rather as "quidam" ("a certain person").

78 Epistola LXI, *Opera*, Vol. 4, p. 272.

new "English" title page. E. Böhmer came close to discovering it. He examined his copy of T₃E and found that its title page was a cancel and pasted in the book, having replaced a previous title, since without one the first sheet would be incomplete. In the only other copy available to him, that of the library of Hamburg, he found remnants of the original title which he identified as either of T₃H or T₃V.⁷⁹ He thus established the correct sequence of the variants, T₃E following T₃V, H and S. Van der Linde and others recognized the identity of these four variants but did not go into the problem of the date.⁸⁰

Carl Gebhardt, who did go into this problem, arrived at entirely erroneous conclusions.⁸¹ He regarded the title page of T₃E as the original one and stated that it was "certainly printed in Holland during the first half of 1674 before the ordinance of the Court of Holland prohibited a new printing of the *Tractatus*." From there he went on to say that the fictitious titles were the result of that ordinance and that "no doubt" they were predated 1673 "to eliminate the suspicion of a violation of the law since in 1673 the printing of the book was still allowed." Obviously, Böhmer's article had appeared in a journal many years before and went unnoticed by most other scholars. But it is difficult to see how Gebhardt could have overlooked or misread the Dutch records prior and leading to the banning of the *Tractatus* in 1674, which clearly and repeatedly mention the fictitious titles.⁸²

If still more proof is necessary that the "English" title page of 1674 replaced the spurious titles, a recently discovered copy which contains both the "English" title and one of the original spurious ones provides it. Offered in Catalogue 41 of the English antiquarian bookseller Charles W. Traylen and now in the possession of Professor K. B. Smellie of London, it has the title page of T₃E, but also, preceding the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, the original inside title of T₃H, *Operum historicorum collectio*, etc. (T₃E/H). Whoever cut out the spurious titles and put in the "English" title forgot, in this case, to cut out the second one.

And as a last point of evidence, most of the copies of T₃E found in libraries and collections and those still appearing in bookdealers' catalogues are of English provenance.⁸³ In many copies the binding, in others the former ownership, is in English.⁸⁴

79 "Spinozana," pp. 150 ff.

80 *Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, No. 7.

81 *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 367. Land erred similarly in his introduction to Willem Meijer's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus: Godgeleerd-Staatkundig Verhaal* (Amsterdam, 1894), p. 15.

82 See above p. 20; C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme* (Amsterdam, 1954), p. 394, n. 6, also noted Gebhardt's error.

83 T₃E is not very rare, though Stolle, Böhmer ("two copies") and other writers so indicate.

84 Böhmer's copy, for example, was originally owned by Thomas Smith, the Oxford scholar

Ben. Spinozae
TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO.
POLITICUS

Continens

Dissertationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur libertatem Philosophandi non
tantum salva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace posse
concedi: sed eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ,
ipsaque pietate tolli non posse.

Johan: Epist: I. cap. IV. vers. xlii.

*Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet
in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.*



HAMBURGI,
Apud Henricum Kunrath. Anno 1673. 2-15*

Figure 3. Title Variant of the Third Edition (T₃T).

One more title variant (Fig. 3) of the third edition of the *Tractatus* exists (T₃T). Containing both the *Tractatus* and the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, the text pages conform entirely to the other issues of the third edition. However, the two fictitious title pages of T₃ (T₃E has only one) were replaced by two new title pages, one reproducing, with small typographical changes, the title page of T₁ (or, for that matter, T₂), and the other the title page of the original edition of Meyer's book published in 1666, changing the date to 1673. Since the original title pages were in quarto, their reproductions for T₃T, an octavo edition, are reduced in size. The title vignette on the title page for the *Tractatus* is new; that on the title page for the *Philosophia* is identical with the one of the first edition of 1666, proving once more that T₃ was produced by Rieuwertsz and his printer. The new title pages are cancels, inserted after the spurious titles were removed. T₃E, openly disclosing its contents, pretended to be a revised edition ("Ab autore longè emendatior");⁸⁵ T₃T, however, presents itself without qualifications as a 1673 octavo edition of the two books published in 1670 and 1666, respectively.

To the best of my knowledge there is no previous record of a complete copy of T₃T by any of the Spinoza bibliographers, old or more recent. I know of only two copies, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the other in my collection. Böhmer owned the second part of T₃T containing Meyer's *Philosophia*.⁸⁶ I can merely offer conjectures as to the reason for T₃T. Perhaps its title pages were printed in 1673 at the time the spurious title pages were, as export copies which needed no disguise. Or possibly they were produced in Holland, after the discovery of the deception, for use in copies to be sent to other countries of the continent.⁸⁷

The Fourth and Fifth Editions (T₄ and T₅)

The fourth edition of the *Tractatus* (T₄; Land's edition C and Gebhardt's Druck III), a quarto, spells the publisher's name "Künrath," contains the list of errata and follows T₂ in correcting some of them. It can be easily recognized by the misprint, 830, in the numbering of page 130. Using T₂ as its model it added further mistakes in the text.

The fifth edition (T₅; Land's edition D and Gebhardt's Druck IV) is the last

(1638–1710); the copy of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, by Robert Broughton, also of Oxford. Van der Linde, looking for a copy, found one in the University Library of Göttingen, a city in Hanover which from 1714 until 1837 was under British sovereignty!

⁸⁵ Gebhardt, who collated the editions, found this claim baseless: "The octavo edition provides no improvements that could not be attributed to a proofreader"; *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 367.

⁸⁶ "Spinozana," p. 151.

⁸⁷ My copy was owned in 1851 by one J. H. Kurtz in Dorpat, Estonia.

of the known quarto editions imitating T.₁. It has the spelling "Künrath" as in T.₄; but the list of errata is omitted and two more of the original typographical errors are corrected; page 192 is misnumbered as 92; and whereas all the previous quarto editions show the same vignette at the end of the "Praefatio," T.₅ has a new and different one, a flower basket. Its proofreader, more conversant with Latin than his predecessors, corrected many typographical errors that had crept into the earlier quartos.⁸⁸

Land dated T.₄ and T.₅ after 1677. His evidence was the small vignette at the end of the *Praefatio*. In T.₄ the same vignette was used as in T.₁ and T.₂. It was also used in Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* of 1677 at the end of the *Tractatus politicus* (p. 354). Land's sharp eye noticed signs of wear in the vignette of T.₄ and concluded that, because in the *Opera* the vignette is intact, use of the vignette for T.₄ occurred after the printing of the *Opera posthuma*, i.e. after 1677. Then, having become unusable, the old vignette was discarded and replaced in T.₅.⁸⁹

Other Quarto Editions and Variants

There may have been even more quarto editions than those discussed above. Böhmer reported that he found in the catalogue of the Hamburg Library a quarto edition of the *Tractatus* published in Utrecht, Holland, in 1675.⁹⁰ Upon inquiry, the Staats und Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg informed me that all their philosophical books were destroyed in World War II and those of the catalogues which still exist do not list this edition.⁹¹

Stanislaus von Dunin Borkowski referred, in 1936, to a paper read in 1932 at the Spinoza Congress at The Hague in which Adolfo Ravà of Padua "somewhat shattered Land's findings by reporting a slightly different copy of a *Tractatus* in quarto found in Italy."⁹² The printed version of Ravà's paper⁹³ does not contain any such reference. But some years earlier Ravà had reported that the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua owned a copy of the *Tractatus* made up partly of sheets of T.₂ and partly of sheets of T.₄ (T.₂/4).⁹⁴ My collection contains a copy which is composed of sheets of T.₄ and T.₅ (T.₄/5). The existence of such mixed copies does not invalidate Land's findings in the least. It again

proves that all these variants come from the same publisher. It also indicates that the publisher kept, at some time at least, a continuous stock of sheets of the book and had new sheets printed while the previous issue was not entirely used up.

For more than seven years Rieuwertsz had deceived the censors, evaded the ban and provided a probably never-interrupted supply of copies of the *Tractatus* to buyers in many countries.⁹⁵ No owner of one of the quarto editions bearing the year 1670 had to fear prosecution so long as he did not sell it. However around 1678 the loopholes in the ordinances were closed and penalties became severe. The proposals made by the authorities to curb the distribution of the *Opera posthuma*, published in 1677 after Spinoza's death, provided heavy penalties for owning the book.⁹⁶ The ordinance which was then issued in 1678 expressly forbade not only the printing but also the reprinting of the book.⁹⁷ The last of the printed ordinances issued in Utrecht set a high fine for selling the *Tractatus* or the *Opera*, made every second offense punishable by expulsion from the city and allowed the authorities to demand from every suspected printer or bookseller an oath that he had not hidden copies of the books.⁹⁸

When, in 1678, it had become too dangerous to manufacture and distribute new editions of the Latin text of the *Tractatus*, the diffusion of Spinoza's ideas did not stop. Gabriel de Saint-Glaim, a Huguenot refugee in the military service of the States of Holland who had turned publicist and become an avowed follower of Spinoza, translated the *Tractatus* into French. Augmented by unpublished notes of the philosopher, the translation appeared in 1678 under spurious titles.⁹⁹ A small and compact volume in duodecimo, easy to hide and easy to read, it carried the thoughts of Spinoza to the *libertins* and *philosophes* of the coming century.¹⁰⁰

88 See the examples listed by Gebhardt, *Opera*, Vol. 3, p. 366.

89 "Over vier drukken," p. 158.

90 "Spinozana," p. 152.

91 Böhmer, *ibid.* p. 162, speaking about the scarcity of Spinoza's original editions in Dutch libraries, mentioned that the University Library at Utrecht possessed, of old editions, only the *Tractatus* of 1675. However, this library wrote me that they have only one edition dated 1670.

92 *Spinoza*, Vol. 4, p. 85.

93 *Septimana Spinozana* (The Hague, 1933), pp. 28-34, 195-207.

94 "Le opera di Spinoza," in *Rivista di filosofia*, XVIII (1927), p. 296, n. 1.

95 In 1675 Jean Brun wrote that the *Tractatus* was sold in England, Germany, France, Switzerland, and even in Holland; *La véritable religion des Hollandois*, pp. 159 f.

96 Resolution of the University Curators and the Mayor of Leiden of June 27, 1678; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, pp. 177 f.

97 Ordinance of the States of Holland and West-Friesland of June 25, 1678; *ibid.*, p. 180.

98 Ordinance of the Magistrate of Utrecht of October 28, 1678; *ibid.*, p. 188. Even these strong measures did not entirely stop the trade in the proscribed books. Some copies of the *Opera posthuma* contain an engraved portrait of the philosopher; Rieuwertsz the younger told Dr. Hallmann that this engraving was made three to four years after his death (Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, p. 232) from which it appears that those copies were sold no earlier than 1680; see Ernst Altkirch, *Spinoza im Porträt* (Jena, 1913), p. 63. And as late as 1704 Rieuwertsz had copies of the *Opera* and the *Tractatus*; see above p. 10.

99 See above note 58.

100 Paul Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française avant la révolution*, Vol. I (Paris, 1954), p. 26.

*Chronology of the Edition and Variants
of the Tractatus Theologica-Politicus*

	Bamberger	Land	Gebhardt	
	T. ₁ 1669/70	A 1670	I 1669/70	T. ₁
	T. ₂ 1672			T. ₂
	T. _{2a} 1672	B Between 1674 and 1677	II Between 1674 and 1677	T. _{2a}
	T. ₃ V } T. ₃ H } Second half T. ₃ S } of 1673		After July, 1674	T. ₃ V T. ₃ H T. ₃ S T. ₃ S/H/V T. ₃ T
T. ₃ S/H/V	T. ₃ T Second half of 1673 or Second half of 1674			
	T. ₃ E Second half of 1674		First half of 1674	T. ₃ E
	T. ₃ E/H Second half of 1674			T. ₃ E/H
	T. ₄ After 1677	C After 1677	III After 1677	T. ₄
	T. _{2/4} After 1677			T. _{2/4}
	T. ₄ After 1677	D After 1677	IV After 1677	T. ₄
	T. _{4/5} After 1677			T. _{4/5}

*Spinoza & Anti-Spinoza
Literature*

- 1 [de la Court, Pieter]. Lucii Antistii Constantis De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur: quodcunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, aut falsò impièque illis tribui, aut non aliundè, quam à suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sivè civitatis prodiis, in quà sunt constituti, accepisse. Alethopoli: Apud Cajum Valerium Pennatum, 1665. [8] l., 162 p., [3] l. 15 ½ cm.

This pseudonymous book has for its subject a theme which five years later forcefully reappeared in Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. No wonder when writers were looking for its author, Spinoza was a natural choice. Bayle in his *Dictionaire* (117), Jacob Friedrich Reimmann in his *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie*, 1717, p. 642 (236); Johann Vogt in his *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*, 1753, p. 214 (460), and numerous others regarded Spinoza as the author although Colerus in his biography (157) reported that the philosopher himself denied the assumption. Yet, as late as 1842, Carl Riedel included the book in his collection of the main philosophical works of Descartes and Spinoza.

Lodewijk Meyer, the author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (see my notes, 1666) and editor of Spinoza's first book (3) and Lambert van Velthuysen (42) were also named as authors of the book. Most probably, however, it is the work of Pierre de la Court, also known by the Dutch names van den Hove or van den Hooft. De la Court (1618–1685), a resident of Leiden, was a supporter of Jan de Witt, the leader of Holland's republican party, and the author of many political writings defending freedom of thought against the orthodox clergy. This "Spinozistic" theme is also propounded in *De jure ecclesiasticorum*. Only the civil authorities, de la Court states, should exercise power and administer the law; the church claims for its ministers similar rights and privileges, but the Scriptures on which they rely for these claims do not support them and neither does natural law.

The book played some role in the English Spinoza literature; (see my notes on William Caroll, *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709) (174).

- 2 [de la Court, Pieter]. Lucii Antistii Constantis De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis. Quo docetur: quodcunque divini humanique iuris ecclesiasticis tribuitur, vel ipsi sibi tribuunt, hoc, aut falsò impièque illis tribui, aut non aliundè, quam a suis, hoc est, ejus reipublicae sivè civitatis prodiis, in quà sunt constituti, accepisse. Alethopoli: Apud Cajum Valerium Pennatum, 1665. [8] l., 162 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

A new issue of no. 1, using different type and different vignettes; without the two errata pages since the printer corrected the typographical errors.

1666

- 3 [Meyer, Lodewijk]. *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxa, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem S. Literas interpretandi normam esse, apodicticè demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenduntur, ac refelluntur*. Eleutheropoli: [Amsterdam, Jan Rieuwerts], 1665. [6] l., 105 p., [5] l. 20 cm.

Lodewijk Meyer (1629–1681), a physician in Amsterdam, was a close friend of Spinoza and his contemporaries, and later writers often attributed the authorship of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* to Spinoza. The book, in general, reflects the philosophical and theological discussions of Spinoza's circle. Jan Rieuwerts, Spinoza's publisher and friend, reprinted it in one volume together with the third – the octavo – edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1673 and 1674 (680–682). Together with Spinoza's books it was banned by the authorities (36, 259, 305).

Meyer, while maintaining that the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament are the unmistakable word of God, claims that they need an interpreter to determine the truth in those many places where the biblical text is dark and ambiguous. The tool for such interpretation is reason. Any interpretation of the Bible which contradicts a rational truth is false. What is true in philosophy is true in theology, both originate in God and thus God becomes the interpreter of His own words.

It is not merely the similarity of ideas which links Meyer's book to Spinoza. In the last paragraph of the book Meyer refers to Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling* by its Latin title, *Tractatus de Deo, anima rationali et summa hominis felicitate* and speaks hopefully of its future publication.

See also notes on the edition of 1776 (545).

1668

- 4 [Koerbagh, Adriaen]. Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplamt door Vrederyk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uytlegging van al de Hebreusche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse, en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die ('t welk te beklaagen is) soo inde Godsgeleertheyd, regtsgeleertheyd, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en wetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruyk van spreken, inde Nederduyt se taal gebruykt worden. Leiden: Gedrukt . . . voor Goedaert onderwijs [Amsterdam: Hermann Aeltz], 1668. [8] l., 672 p. 14 ½ cm.

The *Bloemhof* is one of the most important early Spinozana. Its author, Adriaen Koerbagh (1632/3–1669), a physician and jurist, was one of Spinoza's disciples,

as was his brother Johannes, a theologian. The *Bloemhof* (Flowergarden) is a dictionary of loan words and terms in the Dutch language. Koerbagh wrote his definitions and explanations so that they expounded a rationalistic critique of religious belief and dogma. His philosophy stems from a radically atheistic interpretation of Spinoza's metaphysics. But, quite different from Spinoza, he expressed his beliefs in a violently belligerent manner.

Koerbagh and his brother ran into difficulties with the church authorities in 1666 and 1667, when they were accused of having uttered heretic opinions on God, Christ and the Bible. Their difficulties came to a climax when Adriaen published the *Bloemhof* and began to publish a third book. Adriaen fled but was betrayed and turned over to the magistrate of Amsterdam. At his trial he declared that, although he had been friendly with Spinoza and other freethinkers, he had never discussed the *Bloemhof* with them. He was condemned to ten years imprisonment, but torture by his jailers led to his death in October 1669.

The article "Bibel" in the *Bloemhof* mentions "some of the most outstanding theologians" as sources of the theory that Ezra was the compiler of the Bible; no doubt this is a reference to Spinoza and perhaps also to van den Enden in whose house Koerbagh met Spinoza.

See also no. 5.

- 5 Koerbagh, Adriaen. Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplamt door Vrederyk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd, tot nut en dienst van al die geen die der nut en dienst uyt trekken wil. Of een vertaaling en uytlegging van al de Hebreusche, Grieksche, Latynse, Franse, en andere vreemde bastaart-woorden en wijsen van spreken, die ('t welk te beklaagen is) soo inde Godsgeleertheyd, regtsgeleertheyd, geneeskunst, als in andere konsten en wetenschappen, en ook in het dagelijks gebruyk van spreken, inde Nederduytse taal gebruykt worden, gedaen door Mr. Adr. Koerbagh, regtsgel. en geneesmr. Amsterdam: Gedrukt voor den Schrijver, 1668. [8] l., 672 p. 14 cm.

Same work as no. 4, having however a new title page which gives the true name of the author and bears the imprint "Printed for the author."

Meinsma, *Spinoza und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1909, p. 370, says that a few copies carry the false imprint "Gedrukt te Leyden etc.," while most copies have the correct "'t Amsterdam, Gedrukt voor den Schrijver" with the name of the author. This, however, is not so. My copy, in which the title page is a pasted-on carton, proves that the anonymous edition was the original one.

- 6 Wolzogen, Ludwig. *Orthodoxa fides sive adversus Johannem de Labadie Censura censurae Medioburgensis in libellum De interprete Scripturarum. Ipse libellus secunda editione praemissus est*. Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1668. [26] l., 112 p., [2] l., 326 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

Ludwig Wolzogen (1632–1690), a Reformed theologian who served as preacher at the French church of Middelburg, Holland and professor at the University of Utrecht, published in 1668 *De Scripturarum interprete adversus exercitatore paradoxum*, a refutation of Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxica*, 1666 (3). Among the numerous writers who attacked Wolzogen's book for containing dangerous views was Jean de Labadie, the controversial Franco-Dutch divine, who denounced it as a scandalous Socinian blasphemy. Wolzogen's answer contains the second edition of his reply to Meyer's book (pp. 1–112) and, immediately following it, an exchange of letters stating that Lambert van Velthuysen is not its author. Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* appeared in 1670 and only then, when the similarities between it and Meyer's anonymous book were noted, was Spinoza mentioned as the author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

1671

- 7 **Burmman**, Franz. Synopsis theologiae, & speciatim oeconomiae foederum Dei, ab initio saeculorum usque ad consummationem eorum. . . . Utrecht: Cornelius Jacobus Noenardus, 1671. 2 vols. [18] l., 771, [1] p.; [6] l., 690 p., [2] l. 20 cm.

This work by Franz Burmann (1625–1679), Dutch professor in Utrecht, was highly esteemed by the theologians of the Reformed church. However, like hundreds of other dogmatic books of its time, it doubtless would after a while have attracted little attention had it not been for the notoriety it gained when, fifteen years after its publication, Philip van Limborch discovered that a number of Burmann's statements were verbatim or almost verbatim quotes from Spinoza's first book.

That accusation was made in Limborch's *Theologia christiana*, 1686 (64) and it led to a long-lasting controversy (124, 132, 224). Limborch showed that Burmann had quoted from *Cogitata metaphysica* (part 2, chapter 9), the appendix to Spinoza's *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars 1, & II*, 1663 (675). In his *Defensio* of 1699 (124), he broadened his proof by adding part 2, chapter 3 as a further source of Burmann.

Spinoza's first book is his least quoted one. His contemporaries and the early polemicists were not interested in a book which, being predominantly a commentary on Descartes, offered nothing that was stunning or scandalous. And this may be the reason why the pious Burmann had no hesitation in borrowing from it.

- 8 **Kerckring**, Theodor. Commentarius in Currum triumphalem antimonii Basilii Valentini, a se latinitate donatum. Amsterdam: Andreas Frisius, 1671. Frontispiece, [11] l., 342 p., [9] l., plates. 13 ½ cm.

Theodor Kerckring (1639–1693) was a friend of Spinoza. Both Spinoza and Kerckring had been students of Franciscus van den Enden, and Kerckring married van den Enden's daughter, the learned Clara Maria van den Enden, who according to Colerus also had been wooed by Spinoza.

This, an annotated translation by Kerckring of a chemical book by Basil Valentine, one of many written by Kerckring, who was a medical and science writer of renown, was published in 1671, the year of his marriage, and sent by him to Spinoza in whose library it was found (not my copy, unfortunately!).

I venture to say that the dedication of Kerckring's book to the true philosophers, those most venerable men to whom a saintly life and science mean more than the world and its possessions, refers to the van den Enden-Spinoza circle.

1672

- 9 **Duerr**, Johannes Conrad and Jacob **Thomasius**. Actus panegyricus, anno MDCLXXI. mense Junio, & mitrae magistralis, & laureae poeticae . . . Habes hic, lector benevole . . . Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi . . . oppositum Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae haud ita pridem vulgato. Accessit ejusdem argumenti Programma Lipsiense M. Jacobi Thomasii . . . Jena: Christoph. Enoch. Buchta, 1672. [24] l. 18 ½ cm.

Johannes Conrad Duerr (1625–1677) was professor of moral philosophy and theology in Altdorf, Switzerland; Jacob Thomasius (1622–1684), a teacher and author of philosophical writings in Leipzig. Duerr's oration, held in June, 1671, and Thomasius' "program," combined in this academic publication, of which no other copy is known to me, represent the first printed refutations of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. This booklet erroneously gives the date of Thomasius' "program" as May 8, 1671. The collection of his dissertations, *Dissertationes LXIII*, Halle and Magdeburg, 1693, (95) p. 571, contains the correct date, May 8, 1670, which is also verified by a letter from Leibnitz to Thomasius, September 1670 (Ludwig Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza*, Berlin, 1890, p. 32).

The dedication to Duerr by Thomasius reveals the name of the anonymous author of the *Tractatus*, "libellum plane pestilens."

- 10 **Appendix** van't Catalogus van de boecken van Mr. Jan de Wit, bestaende in een partje curieuse en secrete manuscripten. Welcke verkocht sullen werden op de Zael van's Gravenhage, Maendag den 5 Septemb. 1672. en de volgende dagen. The Hague: By de drukkers van de Historie van Wiequevoort, (1672). [4] l. 18 cm.

Johan de Witt (1625–1672), Grand Pensionary of Holland, was the leader of Holland's republican party and an opponent of the house of Orange which was supported by the masses and the church. He opposed the preachers who

sought to gain influence over affairs of the state and sponsored laws to restrict them. Spinoza was close to de Witt and to the circle of writers, such as Pieter de la Court and Ludwig Meyer, who provided the literary and philosophical support for de Witt's politics (1, 3). In fact, many political ideas in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* were conditioned by Spinoza's desire to help de Witt in his fight. De Witt assisted Spinoza in various ways; he paid him a pension and protected him after the publication of the *Tractatus*.

As the result of the invasion of the Netherlands by the French, after tumultuous demonstrations against him, de Witt resigned in August, 1672 his post as Grand Pensionary. His brother, Cornelius, had been arrested shortly before on a charge of treason. When Johan visited him in the prison at The Hague, a mob stormed the prison and tore the two brothers to pieces.

After their death numerous pamphlets appeared attacking the brothers in vile terms. Among them are some *catalogues imaginaires*, lists of mostly non-existent books alluding to the misdeeds and crimes of Johan de Witt. The first of them is *Catalogus van boecken inde bybliotheque van Mr. Jan de Wit, door zijn discipel den Pensionaris Vivien*. The *Appendix* adds thirty-eight new titles, among them (no. 33) *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, "by the apostate Jew, forged with the devil in hell and published with the knowledge of Mr. Jan and his accomplices."

See also nos. 11 and 13.

- 11 **Appendix** van't Catalogus van de boecken van Mr. Jan de Wit, bestaende in een partje curieuse en secrete manuscripten. Welcke verkocht sullen werden op de Zael van's Gravenhage, Maendag den 5 Septemb. 1672. en de volgende dagen. The Hague: By de drukkers van de Historie van Wiequevoort, (1672). [4] l. 18 cm.

A new printing of no. 10, using different type and a different vignette.

- 12 [**Oudaan**, Joachim]. Aanmerkingen over het Verhaal van het eerste begin en opkomen der Rynsburgers . . . Den tweeden druk, vermeerdert, met en byvoegsel. Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1672. 55 p. 23 cm.

Joachim Oudaan (1628–1692), the Dutch poet, was a leader of the Rijnsburgers (the Collegiants) among whom Spinoza lived for a while. The *Aanmerkingen* are occasioned by the *Verhaal*, the history of the beginnings of the sect by Paschier de Fyne.

- 13 **Slutel**, ontsluitende de boecke-kas van de Witte bibliotheek, met syn Appendix. Waer in de duystere namen der boecken klaerlijck werden verthoont en bekent gemaect. Door J.B. Bibliothecarius. The Hague: "by Nil volentibus arduum," 1672. [8] l. 18 cm.

This "key" to the *Catalogus* of Johan de Witt's library and the *Appendix* to it (11) elaborates on the titles listed in both. The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is described as "by the apostate Jew, brought forth out of hell, wherein in an unheard of manner it is proved that God's word must be interpreted and understood by philosophy, all of which has been publicly printed with the knowledge of Mr. Jan."

1673

- 13a **Batelier**, Jacob Johannes. *Vindiciae miraculorum . . . adversus profanem auctorem Tractatus theologico-politici*. Amsterdam: Johannes Janszon, 1673. 103 p. 13 cm.

This little book is written by Jacobus Johannes Batelier, preacher of the Remonstrants at The Hague. He had been asked by a "brother in Christ" to examine the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. To this purpose he reprints (pp. 9–34) Spinoza's chapter six in its entirety, omitting only the Hebrew quotes. He explains (or excuses?) this copious quotation by pointing out that the reader interested in a thorough examination thus need not get a copy of Spinoza's book at a rather high price! Batelier then proceeds to refute Spinoza's arguments and prove the truth of the biblical miracles.

Batelier's attack on the "horrendous blasphemy" of Spinoza is dated January 23, 1672. My copy's imprint shows the year 1673. Van der Linde, who did not see a copy and obviously neither did other old sources, indicates 1674 as the year of publication. The British Museum copy also is of 1674. Nowhere else have I found a copy bearing the year 1673.

- 14 [**Stoupe**, Jean Baptiste]. *La religion des Hollandois, représentée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du Roy, à un pasteur & professeur en theologie de Berne*. Paris: François Clousier l'aisné and Pierre Auboin, 1673. [4] l., 204 p. 13 ½ cm.

This is the original edition of the first French book to discuss Spinoza. The author is Jean Baptiste Stoupe (1624–1692), a preacher of the French Reformed Church in London, after Cromwell's death a Lieutenant-Colonel and General of a Swiss regiment in French service. "A man of intrigue, but of no virtue" (Bishop Burnet), he served as a spy for Cromwell and later as an agent for Louis XIV. In the latter capacity he befriended Spinoza with whom he sympathized, but at the same time he reproached the Reformed ministers for not fighting Spinoza.

Under the mask of an orthodox Calvinist, Stoupe attacks the Dutch for not having any true religion, thus justifying his right to fight against them, his co-religionists, as the mercenary of a Catholic king. Among the leading infidels

tolerated by the Dutch church authorities and religionists, says Stoupe, is Spinoza who has many followers (pp. 91–95, 152–153). Stoupe reveals a relatively good knowledge of Spinoza, his theories and his followers. He gained that knowledge from personal contact with the philosopher, for Stoupe was the man who invited him to come to Utrecht to visit Condé, commander of the French, and perhaps even invited the philosopher to the court of Louis XIV. This mysterious trip has been doubted by some, widely discussed by others.

See also nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 and 22.

- 15 [Stoupe, Jean Baptiste]. *La religion des Hollandois, représentée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du Roy, à un pasteur & professeur en theologie de Berne*. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1673. 142 p. 14 cm.

Another edition of no. 14, Baer's Freudenthal catalogue of Spinozana, no. 103, discusses the differences between the two editions. Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* and August Moeltzner, "Pierre du Marteau Drucke," in *Beitraege zum Bibliotheks – und Buchwesen Paul Schwencke gewidmet*, Berlin, 1913, deal with the complicated bibliographical problems. This edition "à la Sphère" is thought to have been printed in Utrecht by G. van Zyll. Willems (no. 1878), too, places its origin in Holland.

- 16 [Stoupe, Jean Baptiste]. *De gods-dienst der Hollanders, vertoont in verscheide Brieven, geschreven door een amptenaar in's Konings leger, aen een leeraar ende professor in de God-geleertheit der stad Berne. Uit de fransche-taal in het nederlandsch over-gezet*. Amsterdam: Cyprianus vander Gracht, 1673. 48 p. 19 cm.

Dutch translation of *La religion des Hollandois*, 1673 (14).

Meyer, Ludwig. *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpretis*, 1673. See Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1673 and 1674 (698–700).

1674

- 17 *Annehmlicher Discurs, von der Hollaender Religion, samt andern obschwebenden Welt-Haendeln, ueber sechs Epistelen, so vor etliche Monathen aus Utrecht an einen Professorem Theologiae zu Bern in der Schweiz, geschrieben, und in der Welt verstreut worden*. N.p., 1674. 64 p. 19 cm.

The anonymous German author of this *Discurs*, disturbed by the sophistries and inaccuracies of Jean Baptiste Stoupe's *La religion des Hollandois*, 1673 (15), sets out to correct its mistakes and misconceptions, particularly in reference to Switzerland. In this context, he also rejects (p. 59) Stoupe's view that

the Dutch tolerated Spinoza's teachings. The General States, he points out, had prohibited his book and various authors would have published refutations if the current Dutch-French war had not intervened.

- 18 *Grondig bericht van de godsdienst der Hollanders, strekkende tot wederlegging van zeker ongenoemt schryver, die in zes brieven, over enige maanden uit Utrecht aan een professor der theologie te Bern in Switzerland geschreven, en door de druk gemeen gemaakt, de Hollanders, wegens hun godsdienst, gelijk hy die vertoont, tracht gehaat te maken . . . Nieuwelyks in de Hoogduitsche taal beschreven, en daar uit vertadlt*. Amsterdam: 1674. [1] l., 38 p. 19 ½ cm.

Dutch translation of *Annehmlicher Discurs, von der Hollander Religion*, 1674 (17).

- 19 *Musaeus, Johannes. Ableinung der ausgesprengten abscheulichen Verleumdung, ob waere in der Fuerstl. Saechsichen Residentz und gesambten Universitaet Jena eine neue Secte der so genannten Gewissener entstanden, und derselben eine nicht geringe Anzahl von Studiosis und Buergern beygethan: Neben umbstaendlichen Bericht von etlichen am 5. und 6. Sept. daselbst ausgestreueten Gotteslaesterlichen und aufruehrischen Charteqven, von welchen solche Calumnia ihren Ursprung genommen, wie auch von der vermeinten Gewissener Secte*. Jena: Johann Bielcken, 1674. Port., [1] l., 62 p. 18 cm.

Johannes Musaeus (1613–1681), professor at the University of Jena and author of a critical examination of Spinoza's *Tractatus* (*Tractatus theologico-politicus ad veritatis lumen examinatus*, 1674), defends the city of Jena and its university against the calumny that they have become infested with followers of a new Spinozistic sect, the *Conscientarii* or *Gewissener*. In 1674, Matthias Knutzen, whom Hettner (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4th ed., 1893, p. 42) calls the first German Spinozist, appeared in Jena and tried to establish his sect which asserted that conscience, *Gewissen*, is the sole norm of religion. Knutzen distributed his pamphlets secretly, and claimed that 700 students and citizens had joined his sect.

A reprint of the pamphlets, all or part of them, appeared in La Croze, *Entretiens*, 1711 and 1770 (526); Jenkin Philipps, *Historia atheismi*, 1713 (209); Johann Christiann Edelmann, *Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesichte*, vol. 2, 1740 (376); Georg Thomas Wagner, *Johann Christian Edelmanns verblendete Anblicke*, vol. 2, 1747 (420); and *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 1791 (598).

1675

- 20 *Baxter, Richard. Catholic theologie: plain, pure, peacable: for pacification of the dogmatical world-warriours . . . In three books. . . London: Nevill Simmons, 1675. [22] l., 136 p., [2] l., 124 p., [2] l., 118 p., [5] l., 299 p. 31 cm.*

Richard Baxter (1615–1691), the great English Puritan divine, rejects Spinoza's "doctrine of predetermining necessitation" (part I, pp. 108, 114, 118).

- 21 **Bredenburg**, Johannes. *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici; una cum demonstratione, geometrico ordine disposita, naturam non esse deum: cujus effati contrario praedictus tractatus unice innititur*. Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1675. [3] l., 100 p. 21 cm.

Jan (Johannes) Bredenburg (d. 1691), by profession a weaver and businessman in Rotterdam, was a member of the Collegiants, the group with which Spinoza sympathized.

Bredenburg's book refutes Spinoza's teachings; nevertheless, his contemporaries accused him of spreading Spinozism through his book. He reveals a sharper understanding of Spinoza's philosophy than most of his contemporaries.

- 22 **Brun**, Jean. *La véritable religion des Hollandois. Avec une apologie pour la religion des Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies. Contre le libelle diffamatoire de Stoupe, qui a pour titre La religion des Hollandois*. . . . Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgank, 1675. [20] l., 392, 139, [5 incorrectly paged] p. 13 cm.

Jean Brun (Johannes Braun) (1631–1708), minister at Nimwegen, Holland and later professor of theology at Groningen, defends the religion of the Dutch which Stoupe had attacked in his work *La religion des Hollandois*, 1673 (14). Why single out the Dutch, Brun asks, since all the other countries where Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was sold should have shown the same eagerness in refuting or prohibiting it (pp. 158–164, 289–292).

- 23 **Geulincx**, Arnold. *Ἐν ᾧ τι σεαυτὸν . . . Ethica. Post tristia authoris fata omnibus suis partibus in lucem edita, & tam seculi hujus, quam atheorum quorundam philosophorum impietati, scelistisque moribus, quanquam specioso ut plurimum, virtutis praetextu larvatis, opposita per Philarethum*. Leiden: Adrianus Severinus, 1675. [23] l., 280 p., [3] l., 195, [1] p. 12 ½ cm.

Contemporaries of Arnold Geulincx (1625–1669), the philosopher of "occasionalism" in Leiden, pointed out similarities between his philosophy and Spinoza's. His enemies called him a Spinozist, while his friends defended him against the accusation; see the works of Andala, 1711 and 1712 (186, 194); Regius, 1714 (216); and Outhof, 1722 (261). In this connection it is exceedingly interesting that as early as 1675 the unknown author of the laudatory introductory poem to the *Ethica* compares Geulincx and Spinoza: "Frustra hic Spinosae quaeras molimina mentis" (p. xxiv). Spinoza's *Ethica* had not yet appeared, though his views were known to the Dutch scholars of Geulincx's circle.

The edition of the *Ethica* of 1675, the second, is the first complete one; the editor, Philarethus, is Cornelius Bontekoe (74).

1676

- 24 **Kuyper** [Cuperus], Frans. *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxe refutata, examine Tractatus theologico-politici*. . . . Rotterdam: Isaak Naeranus, 1676. [8] l., 304 p. 19 cm.

Frans Kuyper (b. 1629) knew Spinoza and his circle and was well acquainted with current atheistic manuscripts, on which he draws in his book. Though a member of the Collegiants, and a man of distinct Socinian leanings, he wrote vigorously against Spinoza. Nevertheless he and his book were denounced for harboring Spinozistic sympathies.

- 25 **Spizelius**, Theophilus. *Felix literatus ex infelicitum periculis et casibus, sive de vitiis literatorum commentationes historico-theosophicae, quibus infelicitum ex animo, h. e. vitiosorum literatorum calamitates et miseriae . . . ostenditur*. . . . Augsburg: Theophilus Goebel, 1676. Frontispiece, [10] l. including port., 1184 p. 16 cm.

The rarity of the book led Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, 1899, p. 255 and others to give erroneous bibliographical data; corrections were made by Freudenthal, *Spinoza*, 1927, vol. 1, p. 340, and Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach 300 Jahren*, 1932, p. 125.

In this book, Theophilus Spizelius (Spizel) (1630–1691), a Lutheran theologian, presents the biographies of famous scholars and poets whose lives ended tragically, either by their own moral faults or by accidents. Spinoza is discussed on pp. 142–146; see also index p. 1119.

A continuation appeared in 1680 under the title *Infelix literatus* (41).

1677

- 26 **Maastricht**, Pieter van. *Novitatum Cartesianarum gangraena . . . Seu Theologia Cartesiana*. . . . Amsterdam: Jansson, 1677. [14] l., 560 p., [8] l. 18 ½ cm.

Pieter van Maastricht (1630–1706), an anti-Cartesian and anti-Coccejian professor, first at the University of Frankfurt-on-Oder, then at Duisburg, offers a refutation of Spinoza's demand that philosophy should not be a servant to theology (a *novitas* considered Cartesian by van Maastricht, pp. 34–49). Strangely enough, on p. 35 Spinoza's first name is given as "Joh." Maastricht

discusses the theological implications of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* at many places, pp. 52, 60, 63, 70, 73, 83, 91, 97. A pun "Spinosam Spinosae," used later by many others, appears on p. 44.

Maastricht regards Spinoza as the author of Ludwig Mayer's *Philosophia Scripturae interpres* (p. 35) and argues strongly and repeatedly against the views of the *Interpreterator*: pp. 74, 105–148, 158, 166, 178, 194, 272.

- 27 [Stillingfleet, Edward]. A letter to a deist, in answer to several objections against the truth and authority of the Scriptures. London: M. Pitt, 1677. [4] l., 135 p., [4] l. 17 ½ cm.

Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), an English divine who was made dean of St. Paul's one year after publication of this book and later became Bishop of Worcester, was for many years of his writing career engaged in controversy with atheists, deists and Socinians (see my notes on Locke, *Reply to the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer*, 1699 (125) and Stillingfleet, *Origines sacrae*, 1709 (177)).

In the preface to his *Letter*, Stillingfleet states that Spinoza is "mightily in vogue among many" and expresses the hope that if, as rumor has it, an English translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* should appear, defenders of religion and morality will rise against it in England. In fact, the first complete English translation was published only in 1689 (690).

- 28 Sturm, Johann Christoph. De Cartesianis & Cartesianismo brevis dissertatio quam annuente summi numinis gratia sub praesidio M. Joh. Christophori Sturmii . . . publice defendet Georgius Sebastianus Kraus Norimbergensis. ad d. 31. Martii M.DC.LXXVII. Altdorf: Johannes Heinrich Schoennerstaedt, (1677). [1] l., 30 p. 19 cm.

Johann Christoph Sturm (1635–1703), professor of physics at Altdorf, Switzerland, famous in his time as an eclectic philosopher tending toward physical mechanism, describes in this thesis his visit to Spinoza, "this exotic animal," and how the philosopher told him about his family, history and excommunication. He reproaches Spinoza for having in his library the Holy Scriptures, Koran and Talmud standing side by side.

An enlarged version of this dissertation appeared in Sturm's *Philosophia eclectica*, 1686 (66).

1678

- 29 [Beverland, Hadrian]. Peccatum originale . . . philologice προβληματικως elucidatum a Themidis alumno. Eleutheropoli: Extra plateam obscuram, sine

privilegio auctoris, absque ubi & quando. [Amsterdam], (1678). [5] l., 146 p., [2] p. 15 cm.

Hadrian Beverland (1652/3–1712), a nephew of Isaac Vossius, became notorious as the author of many learned obscene books. His first, the above, appeared anonymously and without revealing the printer and the place of publication; the colophon, adding another witty line to the humorous imprint, says it was printed "in the Garden of the Hesperides with the type of Adam and Eve, the Children of Earth." When in the following year the second edition appeared (32) showing the author's name, the authorities of Leiden banned Beverland from the university and the city and imprisoned him. In prison Beverland had my copy of the book with him.

Bound with two other even rarer works by Beverland, this copy contains an arrogant Greek inscription in his hand ("I, Adrian Beverland, first of the martyrs . . . wrote this in the prison of Leiden, Nov. 26, 1679") and other autograph inscriptions, namely a self-praising Dutch stanza, a dedication to a friend, and a copy of a long laudatory Latin letter sent him by Nicolaus Heinsius, the famous Dutch philologist.

Beverland makes mention, full of disdain, of Spinoza, the *atheologos*, and of Adriaen Koerbagh and his *Bloemhof* (see 1668), yet the sincerity of his vilification may be doubted.

- 30 Cudworth, Ralph. The true intellectual system of the universe: The first part; wherein, all the reason and philosophy is confuted; and its impossibility demonstrated. London: Richard Royston, 1678. Frontispiece, [10] l., 899 p., [42] l. 30 cm.

The *True intellectual system* is the chief opus of Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), one of the Platonists of Cambridge. It contains (p. 707) a contemptuous paragraph on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, which Cudworth finds a groundless and inconsiderable work, and on Spinoza's treatise on the miracles, contained in the *Tractatus*.

Cudworth is not the first critic of Spinoza in English literature, as was stated by Pollock, *Spinoza*, 1899, p. 357 and Bohrmann, *Spinoza in England*, in his *Spinoza's Stellung zur Religion*, Giessen, 1914, p. 67. Baxter, *Catholic theologie*, 1675 (20), and Stillingfleet, *A letter to a Deist*, 1677 (27), precede Cudworth; see my notes on these books.

A Latin translation appeared in 1773 (533).

- 31 Parker, Samuel. Disputationes de Deo, et providentia divina. . . London: Jo. Martyn, 1678. [1] l., 40 p., [8] l., 572 p. 22 ½ cm.

Samuel Parker (1640–1688), archdeacon of Canterbury and later bishop of

Oxford, an anti-Cartesian, discusses Spinoza's concept of God as *causa immanens*, not *causa transiens*, without mentioning Spinoza by name (p. 441).

1679

- 32 **Beverland**, Hadrian. De peccato originali . . . N. p.: Ex typographeio, 1679. [10] l., 157, [11] p.

Second edition of Beverland's *Peccatum originale*, first published in 1678 (29). The references to Spinoza and his circle are worded somewhat differently; added, among others, is a sentence on Spinoza having been a disciple of Franciscus (Beverland mistakenly says Johannes) van den Enden.

- 33 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. Demonstratio evangelica. Ad Serenissimum Delphinum. Paris: Stephanus Michallet, 1679. [2] l., 20, 725, [1] p. 36 ½ cm.

Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) was originally a follower of Descartes, but subsequently his opponent. Tutor of the French dauphin, he wrote this monumental work for his pupil. This defense of the Christian religion was prompted by conversations with Manasseh ben Israel, the rabbi of Amsterdam. Refuting Spinoza is one of the main purposes of the book (see the numerous passages listed in the Index under "Auctor Tractatus theologico-politici refellitur"). Huet is among the first who tried to trace the historical roots of Spinoza's *Tractatus*.

- 34 **Le Grand**, Anton. Institutio philosophiae secundum Principia D. Renati Descartes. . . . Nuremberg: Johannes Zieger, 1679. Frontispiece, [11] l., 1200 p., [35] l. 16 cm.

Antoine Le Grand (or Legrant), born in the beginning of the century and still active in 1695, was a Franciscan who had been sent from the city of his birth, Douai, to England to preach the Catholic religion. He became one of the outstanding apologists of Descartes in England.

Dunin Borkowski, *Spinoza*, vol. 3, 1935, pp. 124 f. shows that Le Grand, "the great copyist," used almost verbatim a number of passages and arguments from Spinoza's *Cogitata* (675) in his *Institutio* (published first in 1672 and often reprinted).

- 35 **More**, Henry. Opera omnia, tum quae Latine, tum quae Anglice scripta sunt; nunc vero Latinitate donata. . . . [vol. 1] London: J. Martyn and Walter Kettilyb, 1679. [2] l., 24 p., [5] l., 772 p., [17] l. 35 ½ cm.

Henry More (1614–1687), philosopher of the Cambridge Platonist School, is a severe, often vicious critic of Spinoza. The first volume of his collected works contains two long anti-Spinozistic essays, the "Ad V. C. Epistola altera, quae brevem Tractatus theologico-politici refutationem complectitur" (pp. 563 ff.) and "Demonstrationis duarum propositionum [concerning the substance], quae praecipuae apud Spinozium atheismi sunt columnae, brevis solidaque confutatio" (pp. 615 ff.). Added to these critiques of the *Tractatus* and the *Ethica* is an evaluation of Frans Kuiper's [Cuperus] *Arcana atheismi revelata*, a refutation of Spinoza which appeared in 1676 (24).

- 36 **Placaten** ende ordonantien, midsgaders publicatie, waerschouwingen, en extracten uyt de resolutien, van de ed: Vroedschap der Stad Utrecht. . . . Utrecht: Willem van Paddenburgh, 1679. 19 ½ cm.

A collection of 114 original ordinances of the City of Utrecht and a few smaller towns, most of them issued or re-issued in 1679. It contains the *Renovatie ende publicatie tegens Sociniaensche en Gods-lasterlijke boecken* of October 24, 1678, by which the City of Utrecht prohibited among others, the printing and selling of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Opera posthuma*. Their owners were ordered to turn them over to the authorities. People wrongly suspected of having the books could clear themselves through a "purification oath."

See also my notes on *Kerkelyk placaat-book*, 1722 (259) and *Groet placaat-boek*, 1729 (305).

1680

- 37 [**Beverland**, Hadrian]. Alardi Uchtmanni Vox, clamantis in deserto ad doctissimum juvenem Hadrianum Beverlandum jurisperitum. Middelburg: Theodorus del la Maire, [1680?]. 61, [2] p. 15 cm.

This book is a falsification. Hadrian Beverland (29) wrote it in Utrecht after having been banned from Leiden because of his obscene *Peccatum originale*. He used the name of Alardus Uchtmann, a respectable theological writer, without this man's permission or even knowledge, and uses his own name in the title as the person to whom the booklet was addressed. The book, an attack on the Dutch clergymen, the persecutors of free minds who were responsible for his banishment from Leiden, contains references to Frederik van Leenhof, the Spinozist (159), and Lambert van Velthuysen, Spinoza's friend (42), their circle and their enemies.

- 38 **Helvetius**, Johannes Friedrich. Philosophia theologica, contra Cartesii & Spinosae theologiam philosophicam; ofte de ontmenschte mensch, levendig

doodt, in de ontkerckte kerck, etc. Dat is: Een klaer bewijs, dat de hedensdaegsche geexerceerde nieuligtige theologiae principien Cartesii en Spinosae van te twyfelen en lochenen, zijn geweest Adams eerst verloocheninge Godts, en oversulks twee heel oude principien moeten zijn, om dat deselve d'alderoutste paradys-professor Lucifer aen Adam, als doe noch zijnde een jonge discipel, gedoceert, en tot zijn eeuwigen val ook selve gepractiseert heeft, en heedsdaegs in scholen en kerken by veelen geexerceert worden. Amsterdam: Gedrukt voor den auteur; Joannes Janssonius, 1680. [1] l., 620 p. 16 cm.

Johannes Friedrich Helvetius (1629–1709), born in Koethen, Germany, came to Holland in 1649 where he became a physician. His book, filled with alchemic ideas, "proves" that the philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza are the work of the devil.

- 39 **Kortholt**, Christian. *De tribus impostoribus magnis liber*. . . Kiel: Joachim Reumann, 1680. [8] l., [312] p. (paging of last four leaves is incorrect) 15 cm.

This book by Christian Kortholt (1633–1694), professor of theology at the University of Kiel, Germany, became a favorite source for many subsequent authors who wrote against Spinoza. It was not so much the factual data that were copied over and over again (there are not too many in the book), but the malicious puns and metaphors with which Kortholt abused Spinoza.

Whereas originally and traditionally the term *tres impostores*, the three great impostors, refers to Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, Kortholt applies the defamation to Hobbes, Herbert of Cherbury and Spinoza (*De Benedicto Spinoza*, pp. 139–225).

A second edition appeared in 1701 (139).

- 40 **Simon**, Richard. *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*. . . Suivant la copie, imprimée à Paris. [Amsterdam: Elzevier], 1680. [15] l., 612 p. 19 ½ cm.

A counterfeit issue of the first edition (1678) of this controversial book by Richard Simon (1638–1712), French biblical scholar. The proof sheets of the first edition were destroyed at the behest of Simon's enemies in the Port Royalist and Benedictine camp, and the author was expelled from the Oratorian order.

Simon, possibly influenced by Spinoza, asserted that the original Bible text had been augmented by additions from several authors, but against Spinoza he maintained the authenticity of the Bible in spite of the later additions (see the *Préface*). Nevertheless he was accused of Spinozism; see my notes on Dupin, *Nova Bibliotheca*, 1692 (90) and Simon, *De l'inspiration*, 1687 (68). Simon's unorthodox attitude is reflected in his review of Cuperus' *Arcana atheismi revelata*, 1676 (24).

- 41 **Spizelius**, Theophilus. *Infelix literatus . . . sive De vita et moribus literatorum commonefactiones novae historico-theosophicae*, quibus mysterium infelicitatis literariae, extremaque vitiorum doctos homines infamantium perniciēs expressius detegitur, praetermissa in opere anteriori exempla et documenta exhibentur, atque eruditus culpa sua aerumnosis . . . ostenditur. Augsburg: Theophilus Goebel, 1680. [23], 27 p., [1] l., 1136 p., [19] l. 16 cm.

Van der Linde, 358 n.; Freudenthal, *Lebensgeschichte*, 1899, p. 255 and others give erroneous bibliographical data; correction by Freudenthal, *Spinoza*, 1927, vol. 1, p. 340 and Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach 300 Jahren*, 1932, p. 125.

The book, a continuation of Spizelius' *Felix literatus*, 1676 (25), exposes the vices of writers and contains a violent attack on Spinoza (pp. 361 ff.).

- 42 **Velthuysen**, Lambert van. *Opera omnia*. Ante quidem separatim, tam Belgicè quam Latinè, nunc verò conjunctim Latinè edita. Quibus accessere duo tractatus novi, hactenus inediti: . . . Alter De cultu naturali, oppositus Tractatui theologico-politico & Operi posthumo Benedicti de Spinoza . . . Rotterdam: Reiner Leers, 1680. 2 vols. [13] l., 1570 p. (paged continuously) 19 ½ cm.

Lambert van Velthuysen (1622–1685), physician, philosopher, and jurist at Utrecht, Holland, who made a name for himself as a Cartesian and a defender of free scholarly research, was too much a churchman to approve of Spinoza's writings which he studied earnestly. Before Velthuysen had met Spinoza via a mutual friend, he sent him a letter of serious criticism to which Spinoza replied sharply. After the two men met they became fond of one another, although Velthuysen did not relent in his philosophical and theological opposition to Spinoza. After Spinoza's death Velthuysen published the *Tractatus de cultu naturali, et origine moralitatis*. *Oppositus Tractatui theologico-politico, et Operi posthumo B.D.S.* in the second edition of his collected works (pp. 1363–1570). See also the *Praefatio ad lectorem* in vol. 1 about Velthuysen's relations with Spinoza.

The first volume, pp. 97–159, contains the *Dissertatio de usu rationis in rebus theologicis, et praesertim in interpretatione S. Scripturae* which was prompted by Ludwig Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, 1666 (3).

1681

- 43 **Boyle**, Roger. *Summa theologiae christianae*. Dublin: Typis Regiis, 1681. [2] l., 306 p., [1] l. 20 cm.

Matthias Earbery, in *Deism examin'd and confuted*, London, 1697, is, to my knowledge, the only early writer who knows of and refers to Boyle's anti-Spinozistic

efforts: "Bishop Boyl in his little Body of Divinity and almost all our moderns, who have wrote in vindication of the Scriptures, have taken notice of divers of its dangerous positions."

Roger Boyle (1617–1687), Catholic theologian and bishop of Clogher, born and educated in Ireland, discusses Spinoza's position on miracles ("Nescio cuius Authoris pus atque venenum"), pp. 15–19; his stand on Moses' authorship of the Bible, pp. 78 f.; his criticism of the "Chosen People" concept, pp. 88 ff.; the question of divine vs. human law, pp. 92 f.; Spinoza's treatment of prophecy, pp. 100–106; of faith, p. 114.

1682

- 44 **Simon**, Richard. A critical history of the Old Testament . . . With a supplement, being a defence of The critical history, in answer to Mr. Spanheim's treatise against it. Both translated into English by H.D. London: Jacob Tonson, 1682. [16] l., 207, 180, 182, 91 p. 21 ½ cm.

The first English translation of Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40).

1683

- 45 [**Bayle**, Pierre]. *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1683. [2] l., 811, [15] p. 15 cm.

The revised second edition of Bayle's *Pensées*, a book which marks the beginning of 18th century enlightenment, is the first edition of this work to mention Spinoza. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), who later dealt with Spinoza *in extenso* (117, 120), tells in the *Pensées* about Spinoza's last hours (pp. 565 f.; also p. 541). Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, 1954, pp. 28–33 shows how the book is strongly influenced by Spinoza's thought, even where Bayle seems to write as an opponent of Spinoza.

See also my notes on Bayle's *Continuation des Pensées diverses*, 1705 (150).

- 46 **Borel**, Adam. *Scripta . . . posthuma . . . Cosmopoli: Typis impressoris* [London?], 1683. [2] l., 260 p. 15 ½ cm.

The last piece in this collection, *Lucerna super candelabro*, pp. 247–260, is not by Borel (Boreel), a Socinian (d. 1666) but is a Latin translation of Pieter Balling's *Het licht op den kandelaar*, a booklet published in 1662 of which only one copy is known (republished by Carl Gebhardt in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, vol. 4, 1926, pp. 187 ff.). Borel may be the translator.

Pieter Balling, a *Collegiant*, was a friend of Spinoza. His *Het licht op den kandelaar* "signifies the beginning of a Spinoza literature at a time when no book by the philosopher himself had been published" (Gebhardt).

- 47 [**Verwer**, Adrian]. 't Mom-aensicht der atheistery, afgerukt door een verhandeling van den aengeboren stand der menschen, vervattende niet alleen een betoogh van de rechtsinnige stelling; maer ook voornamentlijk een grondige wederleging van de tegenstrijdige waen-gevoelens en in't bysonder van de geheele Sedekonst, van Benedictus de Spinoza. Door A.V. . . . Amsterdam: Wilhelm Goeree, 1683. [12] l., 90 p., [1] l. 21 cm.

Adrian Verwer, a Dutch linguist of fame, is among the first who tried a sort of systematic refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*. Besides its polemic excursions (pp. 50–90), Verwer's work is important because of the biographical data on Spinoza which were probably obtained by the author through first-hand information. A poem by Joachim Oudaan (1628–1692), contained in Verwer's book, alludes to homosexual acts mentioned by Spinoza at a dinner in Utrecht. The poem is reprinted in Oudaan, *Poezy*, 1712 (200).

- 48 **Wittich**, Christoph. *Theologia pacifica, in qua . . . usus philosophiae Cartesianae in diversis theologiae partibus demonstratur, & ad dissertationem . . . Samuel Maresii, De abusu philosophiae Cartesianae in rebus theologicis & fidei, modeste respondetur*. Editio tertia. . . . Leiden: Cornelius Boutesteyn, 1683. [18] l., port., 180 p. 19 ½ cm.

Christoph Wittich (1625–1687), the spokesman of the Cartesians at the University of Leiden, best known for his posthumously published *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), denounces the abuses of Descartes' philosophy apparent in the philosophies of Ludwig Meyer and Spinoza (pp. 31 f., 35 f.; also, preface to *Theologia pacifica*).

1684

- 49 [**Abbadie**, Jacques]. *Traité de la verité de la religion chrétienne*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1684. 2 vols. [12] l., 517 p.; 418 p., [3] l. 19 ½ cm.

This is the first edition of this "masterwork of classical Christian apologetics" by Jacques Abbadie (1658–1727), a Reformed preacher who after his escape from France served in Berlin and Dublin. Its chapters on Spinoza, vol. 1, pp. 283–373, are the first attempt of a massive and systematic refutation of Spinoza's Biblecriticism by a Protestant theologian; see also the *Préface*.

New editions and translations (73, 96, 422) are evidence of the wide-spread influence of Abbadie's book.

- 50 [Cuffeler, Abraham Johannes]. *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & artificialis ad pantosophiae principia manuducens*. Hamburg: Henricus Kunraht [Utrecht or Amsterdam], 1684. 3 vols. [9] l., 258 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 229 p.; [6] l., 140 p., 12 plates. 15 ½ cm.

Abraham Johannes Cuffeler (1637–1694?), a high Dutch official, was among Spinoza's intimate friends. "Few friends and adversaries from earlier times have understood him so deeply and truly as Cuffeler" (Dunin-Borkowski, "Ein christlicher Spinozist" in *Nachlese zur aeltesten Geschichte des Spinozismus, Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 24, pp. 71 ff.). His work appeared under the same fictitious imprint as Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and is one of the few 17th century books which took a stand in favor of Spinoza; see in particular vol. 1, pp. 103, 119–127, 222–230, 231–256. Cuffeler's original plan was to give a Spinozistic exposition of the entire field of science, but only these three books (logic, mathematics, physics) were completed.

- 51 Salden [Selden], Willem. *Otia theologica, sive exercitationum subcisivarum, varii argumenti, libri quatuor*. . . Amsterdam: Henricus Boom, etc., 1684. Frontispiece, [21] l., 822 p., [29] l. 20 ½ cm.

In the second of his papers collected in this volume, Willem Salden (1627–1694), a learned Dutch theologian, writes about "the author of the Pentateuch" and, as is to be expected, a large part is devoted to the unmasking of the errors of Spinoza, "this rotten man" (pp. 18, 24–36). Salden sets his tone by copiously quoting from Spizelius' *Felix literatus*, 1676 (25), although one notices that he has carefully studied the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

- 52 [Jurieu, Pierre]. *L'esprit de Mr. Arnauld. Tiré de sa conduite, & des écrits de lui & de ses disciples, particulièrement de l'Apologie pour les catholiques*. . . Deventer: Heritiers de Jean Colombius, 1684. 2 vols. 452 p., [7] l.; 478 p., [7] l. 15 cm.

Antoine Arnauld, the Jansenist philosopher of Port-Royal, a refugee in Brussels at that time, had raised in his book, *Apologie pour les catholiques*, 1682, the question whether it was not true that the Protestants were responsible for doubting the authority of the Bible because Spinoza, a Calvinist, although originally a Jew, had provided them with arguments. Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), French Protestant divine, pastor in Rotterdam, opponent of Arnauld, Nicole and Bossuet, answers in his *L'esprit de Mr. Arnauld*, pp. 155–159, that there were libertines in the Catholic church prior to Spinoza, and that no more than six of the present French unbelievers had ever heard of Spinoza.

- 53 Pufendorf, Samuel. *De jure naturae et gentium libri octo*. Editio secunda, auctor multo, et emendatio. Frankfurt-on-Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1684. [7] l., 1344 p., [8] l. 20 ½ cm.

Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) was the first jurist to refute Spinoza's concept of natural law and the validity of the institutions stemming from it (pp. 159–163, 390 f.). Pufendorf had met Spinoza and called him a "frivolous bird," but he nevertheless felt that it was "worth the while to destroy him *funditus*." And this is what he aimed at in his classic work on natural and international law. Strangely enough, Ludwig Gumplowicz states in his authoritative *Geschichte der Staatstheorien*, 1905, that Pufendorf did not take notice of Spinoza, that in all probability he never read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and that he would not have understood him anyway.

See also 71, 192, 201, and 235.

1685

- 54 Hornius, Georg and Balthasar Bekker. *Kerkelycke historie, van de schep-pinge des werelts, tot 't jaer des Heeren 1666. Aengehecht met een korte Werelt-lyke historie van't begin der eeuwen tot den selven tijdt. In't Latijn beschreven door Georgius Hornius*. . . In het Nederduyts vertolckt, van den auteur oversien en vermeerderd. Waer aen is bygevoegt de Kerkelyke historie, en ver-volg op de Wereltlyke historie sedert den jare 1666 tot 1684. Door Balthazar Becker. . . Den tweeden druck. Amsterdam: Baltes Boeckholt, 1685. Frontispiece, [7] l., 392 p., [1], [14], [4] l., 62 p., [1] l., 78 p. 16 ½ cm.

Hornius' Church History ends with the year 1666. The supplement, bringing it up to 1684, is the work of Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), the Dutch minister, whose famous book *De betooverde wereld* (The world bewitched), 1691–1693 (84), led to his deposition from the ministry. In the supplement, pp. 38 f., Bekker praises the character of Spinoza whom he knew and deplores the influence of his writings. In 1692 Jacob Koelman criticized Bekker's treatment of Spinoza in his *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie* (87).

- 55 Leenhof, Frederik van. *Kort onderwys inde christelyke religie volgens d'ordre van de Heilige Schrift; vertoonende beknopetelyk de wegen en menigvuldige wijsheid Gods, van het begin tot het eynde der wereld*. . . Den sesden druk. . . Amsterdam: Wilhelmus Goeree, 1685. 61 p. including frontispiece. 15 ½ cm.

Frederik van Leenhof (159) wrote the *Korte onderwys* long before he became notorious as the author of the Spinozistic *Den hemel op aarden*. But, as Jenichen's

Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiani, 1707 (162) states, p. 79, Leenhof's *De keten der Bybelse Godgeleertheit*, 1682, already contains the seeds of his Spinozism. The *Kort onderwys* is a summary of *De keten* (p. 10).

- 56 **Malebranche**, Nicolas. Trois lettres de l'auteur de la Recherche de la verité, touchant la defense de Mr. Arnauld contre la Réponse au livre des vraies & fausses idées. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685. 280, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

For many years Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), with Spinoza, the greatest disciple of Descartes, and Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), leader of the Jansenistic school of Port-Royal, were involved in heated polemics. The controversy began with Arnauld's *Des vraies et des fausses idées*, 1683, directed at Malebranche's *Recherche*. Malebranche answered with a *Réponse*; Arnauld fought back with a *Défense contre la Réponse* to which Malebranche once more replied with *Trois lettres*.

In his *Défense* Arnauld had accused Malebranche of being a Spinozist, particularly with respect to his concepts of "vision in God" and of the "intelligible extense." Malebranche's rebuttal is found on pp. 69 ff., 72, 74 ff., 77 ff.

See also my notes on other works by Malebranche, nos. 70, 82, 167, 168, 169, 191, and 309.

- 57 **Poiret**, Pierre. Cogitationum rationalium de Deo, anima et malo libri quatuor. In quibus quid de hisce Cartesius, ejusque sequaces, boni aut secus senserint, omnique philosophiae certiori fundamenta; atque imprimis tota metaphysica verior, continentur; nec non Benedicti de Spinoza atheismus & exitiales errores funditus exstirpantur. Editio altera, priore plus duplo auctior. Amsterdam: Ex typographia Blaviana, 1685. [26] l., 808 p. 20 cm.

Pierre Poiret (1646–1719) was in his younger years a Reformed minister in Southern Germany; later he lived a solitary life, devoted to study and meditation, in Hamburg and Holland.

The first edition of his *Cogitationes* appeared in 1677. Inspired by Descartes, the book closely follows the orthodox line of Cartesian philosophy. But when the second edition appeared in 1685, Poiret had become a mystic. Divine illumination now was to him the supreme source and test of truth. No wonder then that Spinoza, the rationalist who identified God as the highest rational goal, becomes the main target for Poiret's denunciations. The entire book is interwoven with extensive notes refuting Spinoza. A special appendix, *Fundamenta atheismi reversa, sive specimen absurditatis atheismi Spinoziani*, is particularly concerned with exposing the fallacies of Spinoza's *Ethica*.

- 58 **Simon**, Richard. Histoire critique du Vieux Testament . . . Nouvelle édition, & qui est la première imprimée sur la copie de Paris, augmentée d'une Apologie

générale & de plusieurs remarques critiques. On a de-plus ajouté . . . tout ce qui a été imprimé jusqu'à présent à l'occasion de cette Histoire critique. Amsterdam: Pour la Compagnie des Libraires, 1685. [20] l., 667, [45] p. 23 ½ cm.

Unauthorized edition of Simon's work (40 and 59).

- 59 **Simon**, Richard. Histoire critique du Vieux Testament . . . Nouvelle édition, & qui est la première imprimée sur la copie de Paris, augmentée d'une Apologie générale & de plusieurs remarques critiques . . . On a de plus ajouté . . . tout ce qui a été imprimé jusqu'à présent à l'occasion de cette Histoire critique. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685. [20] l., 667, [45] p. 24 cm.

This edition was published as a replacement and emendation of the Elsevier edition of 1680 (40). It carries an *Advertissement* to the Reader signed by Reinier Leers, the publisher, to distinguish it from counterfeit editions such as the one of Amsterdam, 1685 (58).

- 60 **Simon**, Richard. Opuscula critica adversus Isaacum Vossium . . . Defenditur sacer Codex Ebraicus & B. Hieronymi tralatio. Edinburgh: John Calderwood, 1685. 86 p. 24 cm.

Isaac Vossius, the learned Dutch philologist who had settled in England, was among the writers who had attacked Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40). The *Opuscula critica* represents Simon's reply. On p. 43 Simon cites Huet to show that the similarity between Spinoza's and his own views does not necessarily invalidate his assertions.

- 61 **Versé**, Noël Aubert de. L'impie convaincu, ou dissertation contre Spinoza. Dans laquelle l'on refute les fondemens de son atheisme. L'on trouvera dans cet ouvrage non seulement la refutation des maximes impies de Spinoza, mais aussie celle des principales hypotheses du Cartésianisme, que l'on fait voir être l'origine du Spinozisme. Amsterdam: Jean Crelle, 1685. [6] l., 274, [1] p. 16 ½ cm.

Noël Aubert de Versé (1650–1714), a French Catholic who left the church to become a Socinian and Unitarian living abroad, later returned to his country to make peace with the church, after having published books highly critical of Christian dogmas. His *Impie convaincu* is a refutation of Spinoza, Malebranche and Descartes. Versé is the first writer who clearly saw and expounded the link between Descartes and Spinoza: Spinozism has its source in Descartes.

Not everybody believed that Versé's book was a sincere refutation of Spinoza. John Howe, for example, held in his *The living temple*, 1702 (144) that it was just a front to promote Spinozism.

- 62 **Volder**, Burchard van. *Disputationes philosophicae omnes contra Atheos*. Middelburg: Johann Lateran, 1685. 59 p. 14 ½ cm.

Burchard de Volder (1643–1709), a follower of Descartes, who was professor of philosophy at Leiden, never acknowledged the *Disputationes*, academic lectures published against his will, as a book of his own. In his days and later, this little book, aimed at clarifying the Cartesian stand, prompted writers, among them Ruardus Andala as late as 1719, to accuse Volder of Spinozistic leanings. Volder was known to have had personal contact with Spinoza.

1686

- 63 **Deckherr**, Johannes. *De scriptis adespotis, pseudepigraphis, et suppositiis conjecturae, cum additionibus variorum*. Editio tertia altera parte auctior. Amsterdam: Isbrandus Haring, 1686. [6] l., 411, [17] p. 13 cm.

Johannes Deckherr, German jurist and bibliographer, was professor at the University of Strasbourg in the 1670s. He discusses the bibliographical problems of Spinoza's publications in his book, most amazingly, under the heading "de tribus maximis hujus seculi philosophis," meaning Campanella, Hobbes and Spinoza (pp. 322, 331–334). An added letter by Pierre Bayle contains (pp. 387 f.) corrections of Deckherr's remarks as to the author of the preface to the *Opera posthuma* (695). A mention of Spinoza in connection with Anton Le Grand's *Institutio philosophiae secundum principia D. Renati Descartes* (34) is found on p. 321.

- 64 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promonitionem pacis christianae unice directa*. Amsterdam: Henricus Wetstenius, 1686. [8] l., 916 p., [16] l., 23 p. 23 ½ cm.

Philipp van Limborch (1633–1712), the famous Dutch Remonstrant theologian and friend of John Locke, wrote this, his most important book, as a full exposition of the Remonstrant creed. On pages 99 and 100 he states that in his *Synopsis theologiae* of 1671 (7), Franz Burmann, professor in Utrecht, had included statements taken verbatim from Spinoza's first book and that he harbored Spinozistic sentiments. This "calumny" led to a controversy, drawn out over many years, in which many writers became involved; see my notes on Limborch, *Defensio contra Ioannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem*, 1699 (124) and Franz Burmann, Jr., *Burmannorum Pietas*, 1700 (132).

See also my notes on the editions of 1700 and 1715 (135 and 224).

- 65 **Seckendorff**, Veit Ludwig von. *Christen-Stat in drey Buecher abgetheilet*. Im ersten wird von dem Christenthum an sich selbst, und dessen Behauptung,

wider die Atheisten und dergleichen Leute; im andern von der Verbesserung des weltlichen, und im dritten des geistlichen Standes, nach dem Zweck des Christenthums gehandelt. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1686. Portrait, [22] l., 719, 424 p., [22] l. 16 ½ cm.

Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626–1692), German statesman and camerarist, presents an indictment of atheism from the viewpoint of Pietism and pleads for the subordination of church to state. The *Additiones*, pp. 139–142, contain an "Anzeige von der laesterlichen Meynung eines getauften Jueden in Nederland Spinoza genannt," mainly a summary of the refutation of Spinoza by Henry More in his *Opera omnia*, 1679 (35).

- 66 **Sturm**, Johann Christoph. *Philosophia eclectica. h.e. exercitationes academicae, quibus philosophandi methodus selector. . . explicatur antehac ex cathedra disputatoria publice ventilatae. . .* Altdorf: Johannes Heinrich Schoennerstaedt, 1686. [6] l., 674 p., [10] l. 16 cm.

This collection of Sturm's academic writings contains, pp. 139–195, his 1677 dissertation *De Cartesianis et Cartesianismo* (28). An appendix deals with Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*, which Sturm did not know in 1677, and Val. Albert's opinion of Spinoza (pp. 192–194).

1687

- 67 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *De veritate religionis christianae amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo*. Gouda: Justus ab Hoeve, 1687. [8] l., 364 p., [7] l. 23 ½ cm.

This disputation between Philipp van Limborch (64) and an "erudite Jew," Isaac Orobio de Castro (145), contains Uriel da Costa's autobiography, *Exemplar humanae vitae* and other important information on his life. Da Costa or Acosta (1585–1640), a Marrano born in Oporto, Portugal, had like Spinoza been excommunicated by the rabbis of Amsterdam because of his heretic views. He shot himself after having made a recantation and been subjected to the humiliation of public penance. The *Exemplar* was composed immediately before his suicide.

- 68 [Simon, Richard]. *De l'inspiration des livres sacrés: Avec une réponse au livre intitulé, Défense des Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament, par le Prieur de Bolleville*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1687. [1] l., 221, [14] p. 24 cm.

Richard Simon wrote this book to clarify his stand on Spinoza with whose views his antagonists had associated the method and results of his *Histoire critique* (40). The book contains two works: the first, *Lettre a Monsieur l'Abbé P., D.*

et P. en Th. touchant l'inspiration des livres sacrés, against some Paris theologians; the second, *Réponse au livre intitulé, Défense des sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, mainly directed at Jean Le Clerc (81). Simon polemicizes on p. 30 against Frassen's *Disquisitiones biblicae*, which, in order to refute Spinoza, argued against the established views of the most learned theologians; on pp. 31–43, against Dupin's treatise in his *Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (90) in which Dupin argued, weakly, against Spinoza and Simon; pp. 43–49 contain a refutation of Spinoza's arguments denying the authority of the Mosaic scriptures. Spinoza, says Simon, develops some impressive truths, but his conclusions are wrong and impious.

- 69 [Tschirnhausen, Walther Ehrenfried von]. *Medicina mentis, sive tentamen genuinae logicae, in qua disseritur de methodo detegendi incognitas veritates*. Amsterdam: Albertus Magnus & Johannes Rieuwerts, Jr., 1687. Half title (*Medicina mentis et corporis*), [7] l., 224 p., followed by [Tschirnhausen], *Medicina corporis*, Amsterdam, 1686. 19 ½ cm.

Walther Ehrenfried von Tschirnhausen (1651–1708), a widely travelled German count, lived for a few years in Holland where he joined the circle around Spinoza and became one of his visitors and correspondents. While in Paris, he met Leibnitz whom he acquainted with Spinoza's ideas. For his *Medicina mentis*, a work on scientific method and epistemology, Tschirnhausen borrowed the title from Spinoza. The book leans heavily on Spinoza's *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, although Spinoza is never quoted by name, merely as "quidam." Christian Thomasius in his *Gedancken* of 1688 (72) dealt extensively with Tschirnhausen's Spinozism.

1688

- 70 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Entretiens sur la métaphysique & sur la religion*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1688. [3] l., 604 p. 15 ½ cm.

Malebranche, under attack as a Spinozist (see my notes on no. 56), expresses his opposition to and disgust with the awful and ridiculous chimeras of Spinoza (p. 289 and pp. 315 ff.); *Entretien* viii presents a refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*.

See also my notes on the edition of 1711 (191).

- 71 Pufendorf, Samuel. *De jure naturae et gentium* . . . Editio ultima, auctior multo, et emendatior. Amsterdam: Andreas van Hoogenhuysen, 1688. [4] l., 928 p., [4] l. 21 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1684 (53).

- 72 Thomasius, Christian. Schertz-und ernsthafter, vernuenfftiger und einfaeltiger Gedancken, ueber allerhand lustige und nuetzliche Buecher und Fragen . . . in einem Gespraech vorgestellt von der Gesellschaft derer Muessigen. Erster (-sechster) Monat. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Georg Weidmann; Halle: Christoph Salfelden, 1688. [8] l., 860 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1684, when Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) was appointed professor of natural law at the University of Leipzig, he started his daring attacks against the prejudices in theology and jurisprudence. The *Gedancken*, the first journal in the German language to deal with scholarly matters, was an effective means in this crusade. Thomasius' enemies fought back. He was forbidden to lecture and write and his arrest was ordered. He escaped to Berlin. The Elector of Brandenburg offered him a refuge in Halle, where Thomasius became one of the founders of the University.

Thomasius' journal devotes much space to discussions of Spinoza, of his opponents and of Spinozists such as Walther Ehrenfried von Tschirnhausen (69), who hide under the mask of attackers of the philosopher. Specifically, discussions of Spinoza are found as follows: March, 1688: pp. 333–338, Poiret and Spinoza; pp. 338–343, Spinoza and Spinozism; pp. 343 ff., Velthuysen and Spinoza; pp. 416 ff., Tschirnhausen, a Spinozist; June, 1688: pp. 746–848, Tschirnhausen's defense and Thomasius' response concerning Tschirnhausen's Spinozism.

1689

- 73 [Abbadie, Jacques]. *Traité de la verité de la religion chrétienne*. Troisième édition, reveüe, corrigée, & augmentée. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1689. 2 vols. [10] l., 544 p., [4] l.; 485, [5] p. 15 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1684 (49). The refutation of Spinoza appears in vol. 1, pp. 254–389.

- 74 Bontekoe, Cornelius. *Alle de philosophische, medicinale en chymische werke . . . Neffens den ophouw van een ware philosophie, medicyne en chymie. . .* Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1689. 2 vols. [24] l., portrait, [4] l., 355, 402 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 432, 411, [7] p. 21 cm.

Cornelius Bontekoe (1640–1685) was one of the most celebrated and at the same time controversial physicians of his age. Practising in his native Holland first, he later lived in Germany. As a philosopher he was close to Geulincx whose *Ethica* he edited (23).

At times he had been accused of atheism (he was among those who tried to

acquire the books left by Spinoza). "I will one day show the world," he wrote in his *Tractaat van het excellenste kruid thee*, a quaint work on the numberless virtues of tea, published only two years after Spinoza's death, "what sort of an atheist I am, when I refute the godless works of Spinoza, and likewise those of Hobbes and Machiavelli, three of the most cursed villains that ever walked this earth." In the version of this book as reprinted in these collected works, Bontekoe merely states that wisdom is the highest good man can acquire on this earth, but then qualifies this statement at length "to eliminate the suspicion as if I somewhat amplify the sentiments of the impious Spinoza" (vol. 2, p. 75 f.).

- 75 **Simon, Richard.** *Histoire critique du Nouveau Testament, où l'on établit la vérité des actes sur lesquels la religion chrétienne est fondée.* Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1689. [8] l., 430 p. 23 ½ cm.

Richard Simon, the author of *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40), uses his book on the New Testament to present in greater detail (pp. 272–302) his objections to Spinoza's Bible criticism which he had outlined before in general terms in his *Opuscula critica*, 1685 (60) and *De l'inspiration des livres sacres*, 1687 (68).

- 76 **Simon, Richard.** A critical history of the text of the New Testament; wherein is firmly establish'd the truth of those acts on which the foundation of Christian religion is laid. London: R. Taylor, 1689. 2 vols. [4] l., 168 p.; [1] l., 186 p., [4] l. 21 ½ cm.

English translation of no. 75.

1690

- 77 **Brinck, Henricus.** *Toet-steen der waarheid en der dwalingen, ofte klaare en beknopte verhandelinge van de Cocceaanse en Cartesiaanse verschillen.* Den tweeden druk. . . . Utrecht: Weduwe van Willem Clerck, 1690. [28] l., 710 p., [12] l. 15 ½ cm.

Henricus Brinck (1645–1723), a preacher in Utrecht, never relented in fighting Descartes and Cocceius. No wonder then that in this anti-Cartesian book (first published in 1685) Spinoza and whoever cites him without accusing him, as for example Wittich in a minor remark in his *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), are roundly condemned (pp. 84. ff., 94, 206, 232).

- 78 [**Conway, Anne**]. *Principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae de Deo, Christo & creatura id est de spiritu & materia in genere.* Quorum bene-

ficio resolvi possunt omnia problemata, quae nec per philosophiam scholasticam, nec per communem modernam, nec per Cartesianam, Hobbesianam, vel Spinosianam resolvi poterunt. *Opusculum posthumum e lingua Anglicana Latinitate donatum, cum annotationibus ex antiqua Hebraeorum philosophia desumptis.* Amsterdam, 1690. [6] l., 144 p. 13 cm.

Anne, Viscountess Conway, née Finch (1631–1679), was "a Woman learn'd beyond her sex, being very skill'd in the Latin and Greek tongues, and exceedingly well vers'd in all kinds of philosophy" (foreword to the English version of the *Principia*). An eccentric lady, a Quaker, and for most of her life sick with intolerable headaches, she surrounded herself with philosophical friends, such as Henry More, the cabalist Knorr von Rosenroth and Francis Mercury van Helmont, who tried to cure her. The *Principia* was written during Lady Conway's last years. Similarities with Helmont's writings indicate that she began to write her book in 1671. After her death, More and Helmont planned to publish the manuscript and Helmont wrote an introduction to it which was never used (printed in Ward, *The life of the learned and pious Dr. More*, London, 1710, pp. 203–209). To secure a better reception for the book, More translated the English manuscript into Latin. After Lady Conway's death, he took the manuscript to Holland where in 1690 it was published in Amsterdam. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Conway letters: the correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway*, etc., New Haven, 1930, p. 453, n. 6 discusses the identity of the author of the introduction. According to her the introduction is signed J. C., meaning John Clark; however, in my copy the initials seem to read "J. G."

This extremely rare book, "one of the most original philosophical documents written by a woman," is strongly influenced by contemporary Cabalism and attempts to harmonize Christian religion and the new science of the century. Spinoza's philosophy is refuted on pp. 125–132.

Leibnitz was deeply impressed by Lady Conway's *Principia*. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi in *Ueber die lehre des Spinoza* in 1785 (564) regarded the *Principia* as a work by Helmont and characterized its cabalistic philosophy as "undeveloped or newly confused Spinozism."

- 79 **Huet, Pierre Daniel.** *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei.* Caen: Jean Cavelier, 1690. [4] l., 437, [13] p. 24 cm.

Pierre Daniel Huet wrote the "Aulnay [or Aunay] Questions" when he was an abbé in that town. While his *Demonstratio evangelica* (33) attempts a scholarly refutation of Spinoza's Bible criticism, the *Alnetanae quaestiones* merely vilifies him (pp. 49, 76–78).

- 80 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica. Ad Serenissimum Delphinum. Tertiò editio ab auctore recognita, castigata, & amplificata.* Paris: Daniel Hortemels, 1690. [8] l., 824 p. 34 cm.

The third edition of the work which appeared first in 1679 (33).

- 81 **[Le Clerc, Jean]**. Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. (London), 1690. 239 p. 14 cm.

Jean Le Clerc (Clericus) (1657–1736), a French Protestant theologian, later professor of philosophy at Amsterdam, was a friend of John Locke and the editor of a number of influential journals. His role in promoting free thought was considerable, though openly he never sided with it. In 1685, in his *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, he took up the positions of Hobbes and Spinoza, and of Simon, on the Pentateuch. Simon answered with his *De l'inspiration des livres sacrés*, 1687 (68). Though he refused to go the way of Spinoza and remained something of a Scripturalist, his opinions were regarded as almost-Spinoza, subtler but more dangerous than Spinoza, as de la Mothe, *The inspiration of the New Testament*, 1694 (101) pointed out; or “improved upon Spinoza,” as Lowth, *A vindication*, 1699 (126) put it.

The *Five letters* are not a translation of the *Sentimens* in their entirety (as Robertson, *A short history of freethought*, vol. 2, 1906, pp. 201 ff., and others believe). The first two letters are from the *Sentimens*, the remaining three from the *Défense des Sentimens, etc., contre la Response du Prieur de Bolleville*, i.e. Richard Simon. The English translator states that the *Five letters* are not for the pious, but for those in search of truth “built on the foundation of solid reason.”

Pages 125, 126 ff., and 234 offer examples of Le Clerc's attitude toward Spinoza.

- 82 **[Malebranche, Nicolas]**. *Méditations chrétiennes, par l'auteur [de] De la recherche de la vérité.* Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang, 1690. 364, [1] p. 13 cm.

The *Méditations chrétiennes* was first printed in 1683. In it, Malebranche (56, 70) indignantly denies any similarity between his ideas and those of the “miserable Spinoza” (pp. 145 ff., 147, 149). Altogether paragraphs 1–13 of the ninth meditation present Malebranche's views on the subject of Spinozism.

- 83 **[Wittich, Christoph]**. *Anti-Spinoza sive examen Ethices Benedicti de Spinoza, et commentarius de Deo et ejus attributis.* Amsterdam: Johannes Wolters, 1690. [7] l., 424 p. 20 cm.

This book appeared three years after Wittich's death. His *Theologia pacifica*, 1683 (48), had briefly dealt with Spinoza. His posthumous work, however, conveys a first-hand thorough knowledge of Spinoza's books and letters. Wittich's

contemporaries accused him, who knew Spinoza personally, of having written his *Anti-Spinoza* as a defense of Spinoza in the guise of a refutation.

The anonymous letter of a Spinozist to which Wittich replies, pp. 417 ff., is by Frederik van Leenhof (15a).

1691

- 84 **Bekker**, Balthasar. *De betoverde wereld, zynde een grondig onderzoek van't gemeen gevoelen aangaande de geesten, derselver art en vermogen, bewind en bedryf: als ook't gene de menschen door derselver kragt en gemeenschap doen.* Amsterdam: Daniel van den Dalen, 1691–1693. 4 vols. [10] l., 139, [2] p.; [4] l., 246, [2] p.; [4] l., 188, [2] p.; [3] l., [288] p. (the numbers 217–224 appear twice). Each volume carries the handwritten signature of the author to mark it as part of the authorized first edition.

Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), a pastor in Amsterdam who lost his pulpit after his sensational book appeared, denies the existence of the devil and attacks the belief in sorcery and magic. *The bewitched world* was prohibited and attacked in hundreds of books and pamphlets. A faithful disciple of Descartes, Bekker rejects Spinoza's concept of God (*Voorrede*, l. **3; vol. 2, p. 9). Nevertheless, he was accused of Spinozism, for example in Jacob Koelman's *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie*, 1692 (87).

- 85 **Het leven** van Philopater, opgewiegt in Voetiaensche talmeryen, en groot gemaakt in de verborgentheden der Coccejanen. (vol. 2: *Vervolg van't Leven van Philopater. Geredd uit de verborgentheeden der Coccejanen, en geworden een waaragtig wysgeer.*) Een waare historie. Groeningen: Voor Siewert van der Brug, in de Waerheyd (vol. 2: *in de waarheid*), 1691–1697. 2 vols. [8] l., 221 p.; 292 p. 12 ½ cm.

The authorship of these two volumes is not clear. Following Colerus, the older sources say that Aard Wolsgryk, or Wolsgreen, a bookdealer in Amsterdam, was their publisher and, at least, author of part of them. Others limited his contribution to the *Vervolg* and note that for his part in its publication he was sentenced in 1698 to eight years in prison and a high fine. W. Meyer, *Een theologische roman uit de 17de eeuw*, in *Archief voor Nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis*, 1899, attributed the work to Johannes Duiker, about whose life we know practically nothing. A strong point has been made that both volumes have different authors.

The first volume, *Het Leven van Philopater*, is a combined attack against Cartesians, Cocceians and Voetians, mentioning Spinoza briefly in the preface, pp. 7 f., and his followers in other places.

The second volume, *Vervolg van't Leven*, however, is an important document of early Spinozism. "We find in this book, without any doubt, a rather pure tradition from Spinoza's most intimate circle of friends on the true meaning of difficult points in his teachings" (Dunin-Borkowski, *Die Philosophie des ersten Spinozistischen Romans, Nachlese zur ältesten Geschichte des Spinozismus*, in *Archiv fuer Geschichte der Philosophie*, v. 24, pp. 71 ff., also Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach dreihundert Jahren*, 1932, pp. 116 f.). This Spinozistic novel denounces the adversaries of Spinoza, denies immortality, spirits and miracles, asserts the infallibility of reason, and comes out against the divinity of the Scriptures.

The Dutch translation of Bayle's Spinoza biography, *Het leven van B. de Spinoza*, 1698 (120), contains extensive critical annotations by Halma on the *Vervolg*.

There are two editions of the *Vervolg*, if v. d. Linde's description is correct; he lists 300 pages, my copy has 292.

1692

- 86 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei* . . . Juxta exemplar Cadomense et Parisinum recusae. Leipzig: Johann Grosius Vidua & Haeredes, 1692. [2] l., 437, [27] p. 24 cm.

A reprint of the first edition of 1690 (79).

- 87 **Koelman**, Jacob. *Het vergift van de Cartesiaansche philosophie grondig ontdekt. En meest historischer wijze, uit de schriften van des Cartes zelfs, en van andere schrijvers, zo voor als tegen hem, getrouwelijk aangewezen. Op gestelt, tot een grondt van de wederlegging van Bekkers Betooverde wereldt*. Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1692. [16] l., 669, [32] p. 15 ½ cm.

Jacob Koelman (1632–1695), a Dutch preacher, examines the dangers inherent in Descartes' philosophy and denounces the even more dangerous teachings of his followers, such as Spinoza (pp. 487–507) and Balthasar Bekker. He finds parallels between Spinoza and Bekker's *Betooverde wereld* which had appeared the year before (84), comments on Bekker's report on Spinoza in Hornius' *Kerkelycke Historie*, 1685 (54), and underlines his criticism with the statement that Bekker was personally acquainted with Spinoza.

- 88 **Morery**, Louis. *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* . . . Sixième édition. . . . Utrecht: François Halma & Guillaume vande Water; etc., 1692. 4 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [18]l., 522 p.; [2] l., 570 p.; [2], 562 p.; [2] l., 588 p. 36 ½ cm.

The first edition of the encyclopedic dictionary by Louis Morery (Moreri), (1643–1680), appeared in 1673. The following editions were greatly augmented. The article on Spinoza lacks all critical sense.

- 89 **Witsius**, Hermann. *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri iv*. . . . Utrecht: Franciscus Halma, 1692. Frontispiece, [13] l., 859, [47] p., 6 plates. 20 cm.

Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), an anti-Cartesian professor at Utrecht, critically deals with Spinoza's exposure of prophecy, pp. 59 ff., 63 f., and his rejection of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, pp. 104 f., 116 f., 255.

- 90 **Dupin**, Louis Ellies. *Nova bibliotheca auctorum ecclesiasticorum, eorum vitae historiam, operum catalogum, criticon, et chronologiam, complectens*. . . . Paris: Sumptibus Societatis (vol. 2: Cologne: Sumptibus Hugueterorum), 1692–1693. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [11] l., 74 p., [1] l., 374 p., [21] l.; frontispiece, [5] l., 710 p.; [4] l., 595 p. 21 cm.

Louis Ellies Dupin (1657–1719), French church historian, became widely known for his *Bibliothèque universelle de tous les auteurs ecclésiastiques*, 1686 ff. He himself prepared the Latin translation. The opening dissertation on the authors of the Holy Scriptures refutes Hobbes, Pereyra, and Spinoza who denied Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch, and Richard Simon, who in his *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (40), uttered opinions no less rash and dangerous than Spinoza's (pp. 11–12, 15–26). Simon counterattacked in *De l'inspiration des livres sacres*, 1687 (68).

An enlarged version of the opening dissertation, *Dissertation préliminaire*, appeared in 1701 (136).

1693

- 91 **Bekker**, Balthasar. *Die bezauberte Welt: oder eine gruendliche Untersuchung des allgemeinen Aberglaubens, betreffend, die Arth und das Vermoeen, Gewalt und Wirkung des Satans und der boesen Geister ueber den Menschen, und was diese durch derselben Krafft und Gemeinschaft thun* . . . Aus dem Hollaendischen nach der letzten vom Authore vermehrten Edition . . . in die teutsche Sprache uebersetzt. Amsterdam: Daniel von Dahlen, 1693. 39, (1), 136, 270 p., [1] l., 179, [3], 308, (4) p. 20 ½ cm.

German translation by the author, Balthasar Bekker, of his *De betoverde wereld*, 1691–1693 (84).

- 92 [Coste, Pierre]. *The life of Lewis of Bourbon, late Prince of Conde. Digested into annals. With many curious remarks on the transactions of Europe for*

these last sixty years. Done out of French. London: Tim. Goodwin, 1693. [1] l., portrait, [7] l., 278, 221 p. 19 cm.

The English translation, by Nahum Tate, the playwright and poet, of the first edition of Pierre Coste's work; see my notes on the French edition of 1694 (98).

- 93 **Mayer**, Johann Friedrich. *Dissertationes selectae Kilonienses & Hamburgenses, varii & rarioris argumenti, utpote de . . . Benedicto Spinoza bibliomastyge . . . autographis biblicis . . .* Frankfurt on Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1693. Portrait, [7] l., 599 p., [16] l. 17 cm.

Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712) was a pastor in Hamburg and professor in Kiel at the time this collection of his dissertations and other papers was published. It contains Mayer's invitational program for the public lectures he held in 1688, *Adversus Benedictum Spinosam bibliomastygem*, an invective against Spinoza, "scourge of the Bible" (pp. 418 ff.). The dissertation *Utrum autographa biblica hodie extent?* by Georg Overmann discusses Spinoza's Bible criticism (see pp. 546 f., 552 f., 557).

- 94 **Rappolt**, Friedrich. *Opera theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica . . .* Curante Jo. Benedicto Carpzovio . . . Leipzig: Lancke, 1693. [10] l., 2243, (89) p. 19 ½ cm.

Friedrich Rappolt (1615–1676), Lutheran theologian and professor in Leipzig, was among the first to denounce Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* shortly after its publication. In an inaugural lecture, *Oratio contra naturalistas*, held in June 1670 (pp. 1383–1407), he describes Spinoza, without knowing or mentioning his name, as an atheistic naturalist. In the announcement of this lecture, issued on May 29 (pp. 2162, 2164), he characterized him similarly.

- 95 **Thomasius**, Jacob. *Dissertationes LXIII. Varii argumenti magnam partem ad historiam philosophicam & ecclesiasticam pertinentes, antea a beato autore in Academia Lipsiensi . . . publicatae, nunc conjunctim editae a filio Christiano Thomasio. . .* Halle: Johannes Friedrich Zeitler, 1693. [8] l., 749 p. 15 ½ cm.

This posthumous collection of Jacob Thomasius' dissertations, edited by his famous son, Christian (72), contains a reprint of the "program," *Adversus anonymum, de libertate philosophandi*, the first printed refutation of Spinoza's *Tractatus* (9).

1694

- 96 **Abbadie**, Jacques. *A vindication of the truth of Christian religion, against the objections of all modern opposers. Written in French . . .* Render'd into

English by H[enry] L[ussan]. London: Jonathan Robinson, etc., 1694. [3] l., 16, 528 p. 18 cm.

English translation of Abbadie's *Traité de la vérité de la religion chretienne* (49).

- 97 **Burthogge**, Richard. *An essay upon reason, and the nature of spirits.* London: John Dunton, 1694. [3] l., 280 p. 18 cm.

Richard Burthogge (1638?–1694?) studied medicine in Holland and became a successful practitioner in his native England. Of his three philosophical books, *An essay upon reason* is the most important. Influenced by the Cambridge Platonists and by John Locke, to whom the book is dedicated and whom he criticizes in important respects, Burthogge develops a spiritualist metaphysics based on epistemological analysis: we know things by our senses, but the images and ideas thus occasioned rest on a world of entities outside our consciousness. Spinoza is "in another persuasion, . . . he understands by Substance, that which is in it self, and is conceived by it self" (pp. 94 f.). Burthogge feels that his idea of Mind is easier to conceive than Spinoza's (p. 109) and outlines the differences between his concept of God and that of Spinoza, a "theologizing philosopher" (pp. 116 ff.).

- 98 [**Coste**, Pierre]. *Histoire de la vie de Louis de Bourbon Prince de Condé.* Cologne: Richard Lenclume [Amsterdam], 1694. 2 vols. [2] l., 312 p.; [1] l., 235 p. 16 cm.

This biography, in the form of annals, of the Prince of Condé by Pierre Coste (1668–1747), French writer, translator and editor, records Spinoza's visit to Condé at Utrecht and mentions the invitation extended by Condé to Spinoza to leave Holland and live in Paris (where there is no lack of women and pleasures!).

See my notes on the edition of 1695 (107), and the English translation of 1693 (92).

- 99 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica, ad Serenissimum Delphinum.* Quarta editio . . . amplificata. . . Leipzig: J. Thomas Fritsch, 1694. Portrait, [31] l., 1187 p., [40], [2] l., 69, [7] p., map. 20 cm.

See my notes on the first edition, 1679 (33).

- 100 **Kidder**, Richard. *A commentary on the Five books of Moses: with a dissertation concerning the author or writer of the said books; and a general argument to each of them.* London: William Rogers, 1694. 2 vols. [2] l., 80, 20, 468 p.; [1] l., 584 p. 19 cm.

Richard Kidder (1633–1703), Bishop of Bath and Wells, refutes in the opening dissertation the arguments against the Mosaic authorship of the Bible propounded by Hobbes, by Isaac de la Peyrère's *Praeadamitae*, and Spinoza. Spinoza's "objections" in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* are rejected point by point (pp. xxix–lxxi).

- 101 **La Mothe**, Claude Grostête de. The inspiration of the New Testament asserted and explain'd. In answer to some modern writers. London: Thomas Bennet, 1694. [6] l., 178 p. 17 cm.

Claude Grostête de la Mothe (1647–1713) was a French Protestant theologian who died a refugee in London. His book is a defense of the authenticity of the New Testament prompted by the biblical criticism of Jean Le Clerc's *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande* (81).

De la Mothe believes that Le Clerc gave Spinoza's notions a more subtle and even more dangerous air (pp. 9 f.). His discussion of Spinoza's arguments and the way to refute them is found on pp. 95 f., 115 f., 162 ff., 171 ff.

- 102 **Morey**, Louis, and others. The great historical, geographical and poetical dictionary; being a curious miscellany of sacred and prophane history. . . . Now done into English. . . . London: Henry Rhodes, etc., 1694. 2 vols. Unpaged. 38 cm.

This encyclopedia is the first in the English language. It is mainly a translation of the sixth edition of Morey's *Dictionaire*, 1692 (88), augmented from other sources and edited, according to the interests of an English reader. Morey's Spinoza article reappears slightly shortened.

- 103 **Poiret**, Pierre. De eruditione solida, superficiali, et falsa . . . In quibus ostensa veritatum solidarum via & origine, cognitionum scientiarumque humanarum, & in specie Cartesianismi, fundamenta, valor, defectus & errores deteguntur. Praemittitur Tractatus de vera methodo inveniendi verum . . . Editio nova cui accessit Christiani Thomasiai, Icti Dissertatio de scriptis autoris. Frankfurt & Leipzig: Joh. Friedrich Zeitler, 1694. Frontispiece, [31] l., 552, 199 p. 1 plate. 16 ½ cm.

Poiret's book, which first appeared in 1692 and the treatise appended to it, *De vera methodo inveniendi verum*, attack the principles of Cartesian philosophy. Spinoza's teachings are singled out as a prime example of rationalist fallacies (*De vera methodo*, pp. 166–171). About Poiret and his anti-Spinozism, see my notes on his *Cogitationes*, 1685 (57).

Another edition of *De eruditione* was published in 1708 (172).

- 104 **Spanheim**, Friedrich, Jr. Controversiarum de religione cum dissidentibus hodie Christianis, prolixè & cum Judaeis, elenchus historico-theologicus. . . . Amsterdam: Johannes Wolters, 1694. [12] l., 682 p. [1] l. 17 cm.

Friedrich Spanheim, Jr. (1632–1701), professor in Heidelberg and Leiden, discusses recent controversies caused by the writings of pseudo-philosophers, anti-Scripturalists and libertines, among them Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) and the works of Spinoza, "the ex-Jew" (pp. 622, 627, 638–643).

- 105 **Ménage**, Gilles. Menagiana, ou bons mots, rencontres agreables, pensées judicieuses, et observations curieuses. Seconde édition augmentée. Paris: Pierre Delaulne, 1694–1695. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [23] l., 430 p.; frontispiece, [28] l., 449 p. 13 ½ cm.

Gilles Ménage (1613–1692) was a French linguist and author of many scholarly works; his fame rests largely on *Menagiana*, a not so scholarly, often gossipy, collection of miscellanea. The collection, published posthumously, contains an apocryphal report on Spinoza's sojourn in France and escape from there (vol. 2, p. 15).

Noël Argonne, *Mélanges*, 1725 (276), refuted Ménage's account.

See also my notes on the enlarged edition of the *Menagiana* of 1729 (307).

- 106 **Til**, Salomon van. Het voorhof der heydenen, voor alle ongelooovigen geopent, om de selve aldaar door een klare beschouwing van de betoogde goddelijkheid van Mosis wet-boek tot een eerbiediger ingang in't heyligdom van Gods wet toe te rusten. (vol. [2]: Vervolg op't Voor-hof der heydenen, waar in de grond-stellingen van Mosis wet en wet-boek met de reden-leer werden ver-effent, en haar vastigheyt tegen de ongodisten nader tot versterkinge des geloofs betoogt.) Dordrecht: Dirk Goris, 1694–1696. 2 vols. [4] l., 394 p.; [5] l., 251, [13] p. 19 ½ cm.

Salomon van Til (1643–1713), professor in Leiden, was a Dutch Cartesian under the theological influence of Cocceius. His *Voor-hof der heydenen* aims at proving the divine character of the Pentateuch against atheistic writers. Thus he deals extensively with Spinoza (vol. [1], pp. 5 ff., 52 ff., 152 ff., 172 ff., 196 ff., 257 f.; vol. [2], 147 ff., 200 ff.). Spinoza is also mentioned in the poem by H.G. Snabelius, prefacing vol. [2].

However, what makes his book a source of paramount importance is the fact that van Til somehow had access to Spinoza's lost Spanish *Apologia* and quotes

from it (pp. 5 f. and 152 f.), and that he refers to an unpublished letter reporting a discussion with Spinoza on themes of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 172 f.). Carl Gebhardt was the first to recognize the importance of these passages (*Inedita Spinozana*, Heidelberg, 1916, pp. 7 ff.); however, he did not notice that in the second volume of the *Vor-hoof*, p. 200, van Til refers to “reliable notes (from a conversation with Spinoza).”

1695

- 107 [Coste, Pierre]. Histoire de Louis de Bourbon II. du nom Prince de Condé, premier prince du sang. Seconde édition, reveüe, corrigé & augmentée par l'auteur. Cologne: Chez F**** [Amsterdam], 1695. Portrait, [7] l., map, 508 p., [15] l. 15 ½ cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1694 (98); the report on Spinoza, p. 471, is shortened.

- 108 La Mothe, Claude Grostête de. Traité de l'inspiration des livres sacrez du Nouveau Testament. Amsterdam: Pierre Brunel, 1695. [8] l., 239 p. 15 cm.

French edition of the English version published in 1694 (101).

- 109 [Tschirnhausen, Walther Ehrenfried von]. Medicina mentis, sive artis inveniendi praecepta generalia. Editio nova, auctior & correctior, cum praefatione auctoris. Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1695. Half title (Medicina mentis et corporis), [13] l., 296 p., followed by [Tschirnhausen]. Medicina corporis, Leipzig, 1695. 19 cm.

Second considerably enlarged edition; see my notes on the first edition of 1687 (69).

- 110 Vries, Gerard de. Exercitationes rationales de Deo, divinisq; perfectionibus. Nec non philosophemata miscellanea. Editio nova, ad quam, praeter alia, accedit Diatribe singularis genuina altera, De cogitatione ipsa mente; altera, De ideis rerum innatis. Utrecht: J. & G. vande Water, 1695. [10] l., portrait, p. 1–260, [5] l., p. [261]–508, [6], [4] l., 117, [9] p. 21 cm.

The *Exercitationes*, of which the first edition appeared in 1685, often refers to Spinoza. Sometimes he is mentioned by name or book (towards the end of the *Praefamen*, and pp. 43 ff. and 326 f.); sometimes he is alluded to by way of a pun (*Praefamen: spinoza meditamenta*; *Exercitatio* III: wishing on some persons “*istis Spinis suffocati*,” p. 34); mostly the book refers to his system in general terms.

- 111 Witsius, Hermann. *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*... Editio secunda... (vol. 2: ... continens XXIII exercitationes...). Leiden: Fredericus Haaring; Amsterdam & Utrecht: Franciscus Halma and Wilhelm vande Water, 1695–1700. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [28] l., 859, [46] p., 6 plates; [8] l., 951, [54] p. 20 cm.

The first volume of this second edition, otherwise identical with the first of 1692, contains a new *Praefatio*, with additions and corrections on Spinoza, pp. v. and VIII.

1696

- 112 Hattem, Pontiaan van. Petrus verlost uit de magt van syn misbruikers, ofte een schriftmatige verklaringe, en geestelijke toepassing van 2 Petri cap: I. v: 3–11. Nevens een Onderzoek over de 86. vrage van den Heidebergesen Catechismus ... Uytgegeven toot een verhoog van de regtsinnigheit des Autheurs. The Hague: Engelbregt Boucquet, 1696. [6] l., 171 p. 14 ½ cm.

Pontiaan van Hattem (1641–1706) studied at the University of Leiden and the academy at Saumur and while he was at the latter school he was already accused of studying Spinoza's books. He became a pastor in a Zeeland town, but lost his pulpit in 1683 after publishing a heretical book on the Heidelberg Catechism. Continuing his writings in the same vein and leading religious meetings, Hattem attracted enthusiastic followers and became the center of hot controversy (218). His books were burned. Jacob Bril (183), Marinus Adriansz Booms (218), and Gosuinus van Buitendijk (256) are the best-known of his disciples who developed varied forms of Hattemistic Spinozism.

Petrus verlost, suppressed shortly after its publication, is a treatise permeated by Spinozistic thought. The dominating idea is that God's origin is in Nature (p. 32) and that God's creatures are modifications of his substance who in truth do not act but suffer. Piety thus becomes passivity and is never action. Man is in God and basically not different from Him.

- 113 Hornius, Georg, Balthasar Bekker and Melchior Leydekker. Kerkelyke en wereldlyke historie, van de scheppeninge des werelts, tot jaer des Heeren 1666. In't Latijn beschreven door Georgius Hornius... In het Nederduyts vertaalt, waer aen is bygevoegt de Kerkelyke en wereldlyke historie, sedert den jare 1666, tot 1684. door Balthazar Becker... Den derden druck. Nevens een derde vervolg tot den jare 1696. Door Melchior Leydekker... Amsterdam: Abraham van Someren, 1696. Frontispiece, [7] l., 392, [28] p., [4] l., 62 p., [1] l., 78 p., [1] l., 146, [9] p. 16 cm.

See my notes on the earlier edition of 1685 (54). This third edition of 1696 contains a further updating of church history by Melchior Leydekker, with references to Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpret* (3), p. 6.

- 114 [Lami, François]. Le nouvel athéisme renversé, ou refutation du système de Spinoza tirée pour la plupart, de la conoissance de la nature de l'homme. Par un Religieux Benedictin de la Congrégation de Saint Maur. Paris: Jean de Nully, 1696. [15] l., 540 p., [1] l. 16 cm.

Dom François Lami (1636–1711), a follower of Descartes and Malebranche and a member of the influential Benedictine order at St. Maur, wrote this refutation of Spinoza at the request of Bossuet and Fénelon. The latter's approbation appears in the book together with that of other important churchmen, and the extract of a letter of Fénelon, *Sur la réfutation de Spinoza*, appears at the end of the book. Such massive support was necessary to convince the doctors of the Sorbonne that Lami's refutation of Spinoza, based on geometrical reasoning, did not show the "atheistic monster" in too favorable a light. In fact, in order to find more favor with the ecclesiastic censors, Lami added to his original manuscript a refutation according to the "common method." Ten years after Lami had begun writing it, the book appeared demonstrating that Spinoza's teaching destroyed humanity, morality and the political order.

Excerpts from this book were reprinted in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, 1731 (315).

- 115 Le Clerc, Jean. De l'incrédulité, où l'on examine les motifs & les raisons générales qui portent les incrédules à rejeter la religion chrétienne. Avec deux lettres où l'on en prouve directement la vérité. Amsterdam: Henri Wetstein, 1696. [4] l., 376 p. 14 cm.

This is a strange book! Jean Le Clerc, so often the promoter of liberal thought, as in his *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1690 (81), writes a defense of the Christian religion, and particularly its miracles, against its non-believing detractors. The first part of Spinoza's *Ethica* is to him [Le Clerc], who in other works argued that religion and rational thought harmonize, an example of a philosophy attacking religion with absurd ideas (pp. 47 f.) and Spinoza's denial of miracles is rejected by way of arguments which the orthodox gladly adopted (pp. 358 ff.).

- 116 Tietzmann, Heinrich. . . Atheismi inculpati monstrum, publicae philosophantium disquisitioni sistent, praeses M. Heinrichus Tietzmann, . . . & respondens M. Johann Ludolph Thilo, . . . ad diem VII, Martii a. MDCXCVI. Wittenberg: Christian Schroedter, (1696). [16] l. 19 ½ cm.

This uninspired academic paper discusses Spinoza (chapters XII, XV, XVII and XVIII), Matthias Knutzen (chapter IX) and other atheists, mostly by quoting established philosophical and theological literature.

- 117 Bayle, Pierre. Dictionaire historique et critique. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1697. 2 vols. in 4. [2] l., 12 p., p. 1–712; [1] l., p. 713–1359, [1] p.; [1] l., p. 1–710; [1] l., p. 711–1331, [57] p. 37 ½ cm.

Pierre Bayle (45), the French philosopher and man of letters, was interested in Spinoza for most of the 25 years of his life spent in Holland. As a philosophical skeptic he rejected Spinoza's ontological system and secured the right to accept faith despite its lack of reasonableness; as an enlightener he praised Spinoza's moral life and emphasized that natural morality had nothing in common with religious conformance.

In the 18th century, the article "Spinoza" in Bayle's epoch-making *Dictionaire* (vol. 2, pp. 1083–1101, *Additions* p. 1330) was the main source for the biographical knowledge of Spinoza and was widely exploited or plagiarized. Translated into Dutch by Halma, it was published in book form in 1689 and 1711 (120, 187).

See also my notes on the editions of 1702 (141) and 1740 (374), the English translation of 1738 (354), and the German translation of 1741–1744 (385).

- 118 Berns, Michael. Die dreyfache Welt, als der Christen, Phantasten und Bezauberten, in dreyen Buechern abgefasset, davon das erste handelt von der christlichen Religion, dass dieselbe die aller-gewuenschte, und hoechst-beglueckseligende, und dass dannenhero die Christen auch die aller-gesegneste, gewuenscheste, und recht erleuchtete vernuenfftige Menschen, die nicht eben eines traegen und melancholischen Temperaments, als wofuer sie die Welt annimmt, sondern die eines recht hurtigen und munteren Geistes und Gemuehtes seyn. In dem andern Buche wird bewiesen, dass keine Hoffnung zu einem tausendjaehrigen Reiche. Item, dass das wahre und thaetige Christentum nicht befördert werde durch den Naturalismus, und noch weniger durch den Enthusiasmum, oder auch Quakerismus, sondern dass diese letztere mit einander nur verlarvte Teufel, und Phantasten seyn. Und im dritten Buch wird des Hn. D. Beckers bezauberte Welt (worin er die Gewalt und das Wuercken des Satans oder der boesen Geister auff den Menschen, verleugnet) von Grund aus, und das von § zu § wiederlegt. Hamburg: Gottfried Liebezeit, (1697). [4] l., 958 p. 19 ½ cm.

Michael Berns, pastor in Schleswig and Wandsbeck, was the author of a refutation of Spinoza's *Ethica*, to which he refers in the preface of this work, although it is not clear to me from his strangely worded reference, whether or not the work was actually published. He also wrote *Das natuerliche Licht des Verstandes*, 1711, another opus directed against Spinoza. A third book, *Altar der Atheisten, der Heyden und der Christen, entgegengesetzt den drei Ertz-Betriegern*, Herbert,

Hobbes und Spinoza, Hamburg, 1693 is a translation of Christian Kortholt's *Liber de tribus magnis impostoribus*, 1680 (39). Jacob F. Reimann, the 18th century bibliographer who, being orthodox, should have liked it, said of this translation that it read like the effort of a drunkard.

The *Die dreyfache Welt*, an explosively baroque book, often sounding indeed as if it were written by a man not entirely sober, is mainly a confutation of Boehme and Bekker, though the "naturalism" of Spinoza is duly condemned at a number of places; see the preface (already mentioned), and pp. 428, 445, 448 f., 454 ("der Brutalismus des Spinoza"), 467 f. ("Boehmism and Spinozism one and the same"), 470 ("der allerverfluchste Spinoza"), 491, 705, 933.

- 119 **Jaquelot**, Isaac. *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu, où l'on demontre cette verité par l'histoire universelle de la premiere antiquité du monde: par la refutation du systeme d'Epicure et de Spinos a. . .* The Hague: Etienne Foulque, 1697. Frontispiece, [21] l., 705 p. 23 1/2 cm.

Isaac Jaquelot (1647–1708), a Protestant theologian, living as a refugee from France in Heidelberg, The Hague and Berlin, represents the extreme Cartesian viewpoint in dissecting and rejecting Spinoza. His *Dissertations* often offer run-of-the-mill arguments in favor of revelation and miracles, but his analysis of Spinoza's *Ethica* is penetrating.

Parts of the book were translated by Halma and added to his Dutch translation of Bayle's Spinoza article, *Het leven van B. de Spinoza*, 1698 (120).

1698

- 120 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Het leven van B. de Spinoza, mit eenige aantekeningen over zyn bedryf, schriften, en gevoelens: door den Heer Bayle, leeraar deer wysgeerte te Rotterdam. Nevens een kort betoog van de waarheit des christelyken godtsdiensts; en twee verhandelungen, i. Van de ziel. ii. Van Godts wezentlykheit. Door den Heer Jaquelot, leeraar der Fransche Kerke in 's Gravenhaage. Vertaalt door F. Halma. De voorreden behelst eenige aanmerkingen tegens 't Levensvervolg van Philopater. Utrecht: François Halma and Willem vande Water, 1698. [95] l., 464 p., [8] l. 16 cm.*

This book, compiled by François Halma (1653–1722), a bookdealer in Utrecht, Holland, contains his Dutch translation of Bayle's article on Spinoza from the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1697 (117), Bayle's annotations, and a Dutch translation of those chapters in Jaquelot's *Dissertations sur l'existence de Dieu*, 1697 (119), which are particularly relevant to Spinoza. Halma's critical annotations on the Spinozistic *Vervolg van 't Leven van Philopater* (85) introduce the collection.

- 121 **Benthem** [Bentheim], Heinrich Ludolff. *Hollaendischer Kirch-und-Schulen-Staat*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Nicolaus Foerster, 1698. Frontispiece, [23] l., 910, 750 p.; illustrations. 16 cm.

Heinrich Ludolff Benthem (Bentheim) (1661–1723), a German protestant theologian and educator, treats in this book, which sometimes reads like a travel guide, the religious and educational state of affairs in Holland. His report on Spinoza (part II, pp. 350 ff., see also part I, p. 625) is entirely secondhand, though his account of the Jews of Amsterdam is interesting. The bibliography at the end of the work lists writings against Spinoza, Bekker and Hobbes (pp. 735 ff.).

- 122 **Fabricius**, Johann Ludwig. *Opera omnia, quibus praemittitur Historia vitae et obitus ejusdem, authore Joh. Henrico Heideggero*. Zurich: David Gessner, 1698. [4] l., 462 p., [3] l., 156 p. 19 cm.

Johann Ludwig Fabricius (1632–1697), a Calvinist theologian, was professor at the University of Heidelberg. As confidential advisor to the Elector of the Palatinate, Karl Ludwig, he wrote the letter inviting Spinoza to teach at the Heidelberg University. The biography of Fabricius, *Historia vitae et obitus Johannis Ludovici Fabricii*, by his life-long friend, Johann Heinrich Heidegger (134), which is included in this volume, reports Fabricius' vehemently critical reaction upon reading Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in 1671 (pp. 70 f.) and gives an intimate account of the call which Spinoza received in 1673 (pp. 73 f.). M. Mayer, "Spinoza's Berufung an die Hochschule zu Heidelberg," in *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 1923 (pp. 20 ff.), provides a detailed analysis of this account and shows that Fabricius by the tone of his letter and the wording of the conditions counteracted the Elector's intentions and contributed to the plan's failure.

See also my notes on Urbain Chevreau, *Chevraeana*, 1700 (133); Chevreau, who was also an advisor of the Elector, was instrumental in supporting Spinoza's candidacy and reports on it.

- 123 **Keill**, John. *An examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the earth. Together with some remarks on Mr. Whiston's New theory of the earth*. Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, 1698. [4] l., 224 p. 18 cm.

Thomas Burnet's famous *Telluris theoria sacra, or Sacred theory of the earth* (1681) and William Whiston's *New theory of the earth* (1696), both fanciful theories trying to harmonize scientific insight with biblical doctrine, are refuted as unscientific by John Keill (d. 1721), a physicist and mathematician, who later became a professor of astronomy at Oxford University. The two books are shown as providing good arguments for the atheists. Keill tries to

demonstrate that a great many philosophers, old and modern, among them Spinoza (p.6), preceded Burnet and Whiston in promulgating notions more absurd and improbable than poetic fiction.

1699

- 124 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Defensio contra Joannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem*. Amsterdam: Johann Groenewoudt, 1699. [2] l., 112 p. 15 cm.

In 1686 in his *Theologia Christiana* (64), Philipp van Limborch had stated that Franz Burmann, professor in Utrecht, had copied verbatim passages from Spinoza's first book. Johann van der Waeyen, a disciple of Voetius and Cocceius and a professor at the University of Franeker, came to Burmann's defense; in his lengthy *Dissertatio de λόγῳ contra Joannem Clericum* he devoted twenty pages (pp.175–195) to an attempt to clear Burmann's of the awful defamation. Limborch answered with the *Defensio*. He reprints the attack on him contained in Waeyen's book and in a detailed analysis of both Burmann's and van der Waeyen's views he tries to establish that both are Spinozists. He broadens his original accusation, he finds in Burmann's book statements similar to Spinoza's in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and finds it highly possible that Burmann borrowed also from the *Tractatus*, published a year earlier.

See also my notes on Franz Burman, Jr.'s *Burmannorum pietas*, 1700 (132).

- 125 **Locke**, John. Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second letter: wherein, besides other incident matters, what his Lordship has said concerning: certainty by reason, certainty by ideas, and certainty by faith. The resurrection of the same body. The immateriality of the soul. The inconsistency of Mr. Locke's notions with the articles of the Christian faith, and their tendency to scepticism, is examined. London: A. and J. Churchill and E. Castle, 1699. [1] l., 452 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

In 1696, Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (27) published *A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the trinity*. In it he defended the concept of trinity against the Unitarian doctrine and attacked the philosopher John Locke (1632–1704), as well as John Toland, for having impugned it. A violent controversy resulted. Locke answered with a *Letter*, Stillingfleet responded with an *Answer*, to which Locke wrote a *Reply*. This reply prompted Stillingfleet to come forward with an *Answer to Mr. Locke's Second letter* (1698). Mr. Locke had the last word with the *Reply to Stillingfleet's Answer to his second letter* (1699). In his *Answer to Mr. Locke's Second letter* Stillingfleet had said that Locke, like Spinoza, seemed to think that revelation was nothing but the effect of an ex-

alted fancy (quoted on p.151 of Locke's *Reply*). Stillingfleet had drawn Spinoza into the discussion even earlier in the controversy (quoted p.414). To Locke, not well read in Hobbes or Spinoza, these two are justly decried names (p.422).

- 126 **Lowth**, William. A vindication of the divine authority and inspiration of the Old and New Testament. In answer to a treatise lately translated out of French, entitled, Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures . . . The second edition, with amendments, and a new preface, wherein the antiquity of the Pentateuch is asserted, and vindicated from some late objections. London: William Horton, 1699. [24] l., 258 p. 16 ½ cm.

The *Vindication* appeared first in 1692. William Lowth (1660–1732), chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, denounces recent critics of the Bible, particularly Le Clerc's *Five letters concerning the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1690 (81). The new edition of 1699 contains a new preface which makes the point that Le Clerc improved upon Spinoza (fourth and following pages of the preface) by the conjecture that a Samaritan priest sent into Israel by the King of Assyria edited the Pentateuch into its present form.

- 127 [**Simon**, Richard]. De l'inspiration des livres sacrez: avec une reponse au livre intitulé, Defense des sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire critique du Vieux Testament: par le Prieur de Bolleville. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1699. 221, [14] p. 23 ½ cm.

This edition is an exact reprint of the first edition of 1687 (68). In fact, at least in my copy, two sheets, namely N and Cc, are remainders from the first edition.

- 128 **Thomasius**, Christian. Versuch von Wesen des Geistes oder Grund-Lehren, so wohl zur natuerlichen Wissenschaft als der Sitten-Lehre. Halle: Christoph Salfelden, 1699. [15] l., 190 p. 17 cm.

In *Versuch von Wesen des Geistes*, an anti-Cartesian book, Christian Thomasius (72) points out that a pure Cartesian is not in a position to refute Spinoza and Bekker, but is likely to accept their main ideas (pp.119 f.).

- 129 **Wachter**, Johann Georg. Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb, oder, die von dem heutigen Juedenthumb, und dessen geheimen Kabbala vergoetterte Welt, an Mose Germano sonsten Johann Peter Speeth, von Augspurg gebuertig, befunden und widerleget. . . . Amsterdam: Johann Wolters, 1699. [7] l., 256, 77, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

Johann Peter Speeth (d.1701), a bizarre figure, who after his conversion to Judaism, called himself Moses Germanus, considered the Cabala as the

essence of Jewish religion. Johann Georg Wachter (1678–1757), in later years renowned as a German philologist, had met Speeth in Amsterdam. They discussed Judaism, Cabala and Spinoza, and Speeth sent Wachter some of his weird pamphlets. *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb* represents Wachter's critical answer to Speeth's abstruse views.

The Cabala, Wachter agrees, is *the* Jewish philosophy, but, he continues, it is a "thoroughly irrational and contradictory hodge-podge." It culminates in the deification of the world and thus represents a form of theological materialism. Spinoza adopted it and should be understood as a Cabalist.

This, of course, was not meant as praise. The entire third part of Wachter's book is given to a refutation of Spinoza's deification of the world. Yet, contemporary as well as later writers considered Wachter a follower of Spinoza. And, indeed, seven years later in his *Elucidarius cabalisticus*, 1706 (160), Wachter openly came out for Spinoza, the Cabalist.

- 130 **Arnold**, Gottfrid. Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688. (vol. 3 and 4: ... bestehend in Beschreibung der noch uebrigen Streitigkeiten im xviiiden Jahrhundert ...). Frankfurt-on-Main: Thomas Fritsch, 1699–1700. 2 vols. (4 parts). [11] l., 422, 728 p., [26] l.; [4] l., 284, 848, 24 p., [10] l. 34 cm.

The *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* is an amazing book, ahead of its time and different in purpose and climate of opinion from almost any other contemporaneous theological writing. It is a forerunner of 18th century enlightenment. Its author, Gottfrid Arnold (1666–1714), a German church historian, was a leader of the pietistic movement and the *Historie* reveals his pietistic tendencies by proving that the "true" Christians were rarely found among the orthodox. The book contains considerable biographical notes and a critical comment on Spinoza, the former mostly second-hand, the latter strikingly different from the venomous treatment which Protestant writers usually accorded Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 611–614; see also p. 608).

1700

- 131 **Brief van een vriend aan Dr. Melchior Leidecker**. N. p., [about 1700]. 16 p. 21 cm.

Melchior Leydekker [Leidekker] (1642–1721), a Calvinist theologian and professor in Utrecht, frequently engaged in the hot controversies arising from the influx of Cartesian ideas into Dutch theology. This pamphlet reviews Leydekker's recent books against the Cartesians, similar efforts of his friends,

and refers to Spinozist influences appearing in contemporary thought (pp. 8, 13 and 14). The unknown author is an opponent of Leydekker.

- 132 **Burman**, Franz, Jr. *Burmannonum pietas, gratissimae beati parentis memoriae communi nomine exhibita, a Francisco Burmanno, F. Adjiciuntur mutuae Cl. Limburgii & Fr. Burmanni epistolae*. Utrecht: Wilhelm vande Water, 1700. [11] l., 570, 101, [2] p. 16 cm.

This book is a touching monument of filial devotion. In 1686 Philipp van Limborch had accused Franz Burmann, in his *Theologia* (64), professor at the University of Utrecht, of having used passages from Spinoza's first book. Fourteen years later the younger Burman (d. 1714), a professor at the same university, rose to his father's defense and filled a book 570 pages strong in an attempt to refute the libel.

At the time *Burmannonum pietas* appeared, the controversy had grown beyond a limited family affair. Johann van der Waeyen (135) had defended the elder Burmann, Limborch had counter-attacked in his *Defensio*, 1699 (124), and others had thrown themselves into the mêlée.

Burmannonum pietas is an important historical source. Overlooked by almost all historians of Spinozism, probably because of its rarity, it contains important information on the early impact of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* on the Dutch Cartesians.

- 133 **Chevreau**, Urbain. *Chevraeana, ou diverses pensées d'histoire, de critique, d'erudition et de morale*. Amsterdam (Suivant la copie de Paris): Thomas Lombrail, 1700. 2 vols. Portrait, [2] l., 424 p., [12] l.; 448 p. 15 ½ cm.

Urbain Chevreau (1613–1701), a much-travelled Catholic courtier interested in philosophy and literature, was from 1671 to 1678 a sort of scholarly consultant and court philosopher at the Heidelberg palace of Elector Karl Ludwig. He and his friend, Johann Ludwig Fabricius (122), advised the Elector on matters concerning the University of Heidelberg. In 1672 they invited Tannequil Lefèvre to occupy the chair in philosophy, but Lefèvre died before he could come to Germany. Chevreau reports how he then recommended Spinoza for the professorship. Spinoza did not accept the call, Chevreau assumes, because of the condition made that he not "dogmatize."

Chevreau follows his report with a praise of Lami's anti-Spinozistic *Le nouvel athéisme renversé*, 1696 (114).

- 134 **Heidegger**, Johann Heinrich. *Corpus theologiae christianae, exhibens doctrinam veritatis, quae secundum pietatem est, eamque contra adversarios*

quoscunque, veteres & novos . . . ita asserens. . . Zurich: David Gessner, 1700. 2 vols. [3] l., portrait, [4] l., 742 p.; [10] l., 788 p., [18] l. 36 ½ cm.

Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), an eminent Swiss theologian and professor at Zurich, shows an uncommonly thorough, first-hand knowledge of Spinoza's philosophy in his *Corpus* as well as other writings (see my notes on Fabricius, *Opera omnia*, 1698 (122) which contains a biography of Fabricius by Heidegger). The entry "Spinoza" in the *Index* to the *Corpus* sets forth the large array of varied topics which Heidegger treats in their connection to the Dutch philosopher.

- 135 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promotionem pacis Christianae unice directa*. Editio tertia, ab autore recognita & aucta. Amsterdam: Sebastian Petzold; London: S. Smith & B. Walford, 1700. Portrait, [7] l., 780 p., [12] l. 31 cm.

This third edition contains as an appendix (pp. 853–880) Limborch's *Defensio contra Joannis van der Waeyen iniquam criminationem* and an excerpt of Johann van der Waeyen's *Dissertatio de λόγῳ*; (see my notes on the first edition of Limborch's *Defensio*, 1699 (124)).

1701

- 136 **Dupin**, Louis Ellies. *Dissertation préliminaire ou prolegomènes sur la Bible. Pour servir de supplément à la Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*. Paris: André Pralard, 1701. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [3] l., 288 p.; [2] l., 147 p. 24 cm.

The *Dissertation préliminaire* is a vast enlargement of the dissertation on the authors of the Holy Scriptures which opens Dupin's *Bibliothèque universelle* and its translations (90). The arguments and the reasoning, in particular against Spinoza, are practically unchanged (vol. 1, pp. 59 ff., 72 ff.).

- 137 **Grew**, Nehemiah. *Cosmologia sacra: or a discourse of the universe as it is the creature and Kingdom of God*. Chiefly written, to demonstrate the truth and excellency of the Bible; which contains the laws of his Kingdom in this lower world. London: W. Rogers, S. Smith, and B. Walford, 1701. Portrait, [7] l., 18, 372 p. 31 cm.

Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), the English physiologist and botanist, famous for his *Anatomy of Plants*, states in the preface why he wrote the book. "The many leud opinions, especially those of Antiscripturists, which have been published of late years; by Spinoza and some others, in Latin, Dutch, and English; have

been the occasion of my writing this book." Grew felt that as a natural scientist, not a theologian, he could contribute proof from a new angle to demolish the arguments of the anti-Scripturalists. There are a great many references to the author's fields of specialization, but his detailed refutation of Spinoza's arguments against the historical authenticity of biblical records (pp. 178 ff.) reads exactly like that of an orthodox theologian.

- 138 **Hosmann**, Sigismund. *Das schwer zu bekehrende Juden-Hertz, nebst einigen Vorbereitungs-Mitteln zu der Juden Bekehrung, auf Veranlassung der erschroeklichen Gottes-Laesterung, welche der Jude Jones Meyer . . . ausgerufen, . . . vorgestellt . . . Jetzo aufs neue uebersehen . . . und zum andern mahl dem Druck uebergeben*. Helmstaedt: Hieronymus Friederich Hoffmann, 1701. Portrait, [3] l., 456 p., [10] l., 104 p. 19 ½ cm.

When a Jewish thief was hanged in the German city of Zelle, Sigismund Hosmann (1660–?), a preacher in that town, tried to convert him while he was about to be executed. The Jew reciprocated with a few choice anti-Christian "blasphemies" shouted at the crowd which had come to see him hanged. His words so shocked Hosmann that he discussed the stubbornness of Jews in resisting salvation through Christ first in a sermon, and then in this book. Reproducing many of the classic antisemitic tales and adding new ones, *Das schwer zu bekehrende Judenhertz* became a classic of antisemitic literature.

Hosmann reproaches the Jews for having produced the most important atheists and naturalists. Spinoza, who according to Hosmann was baptized after his excommunication, is described as a prime example (pp. 384 f.).

- 139 **Kortholt**, Christian. *De tribus impostoribus magnis liber, denuo editus cura Sebastiani Kortholti*. Hamburg: Joachim Reumann, 1701. [4] l., 168 p. 21 cm.

This second edition of Christian Kortholt's polemic — the first edition had appeared in 1680 (39) — is valuable because of Sebastian Kortholt's biography of Spinoza, contained in the *Praefatio*, which draws on sources unknown to previous biographers of Spinoza. Sebastian, the son of Christian (1675–1749), like his father a professor at the University of Kiel, utilized information which Spinoza's landlord van der Spijck had given him. Sebastian Kortholt presents Spinoza as a dogmatic Orthodox would see him, but even he cannot but reluctantly praise the blameless character of the man whose philosophy he detests.

- 140 **Thomasius**, Christian. *Allerhand bissher publicirte kleine teutsche Schrifften . . . nebst etlichen Beylagen und einer Vorrede*. Halle: Christoph Salfeld, 1701. [8] l., 791 p. 16 cm.

Around Easter of 1688, Christian Thomasius announced to his students in his famous discourse, *Von den Maengeln der Aristotelischen Ethik* (reprinted here, pp. 71–115), that he would lecture on Christian ethics. He declared that Spinoza's writings had spread so widely that he would have to discuss Spinoza's *Ethics* so that his students could recognize the dangerous teachings (pp. 96 f.).

Thomasius' opposition to Spinoza, which he also expressed in his journal *Schertz-und ernsthaftte Gedancken*, 1688 (72), did not prevent his academic enemies from accusing him of atheism.

1702

- 141 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique* . . . Seconde édition, revuë, cor-rigée & augmentée par l'auteur. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1702. 3 vols. [2] l., 18 p., [4] l., 1096, 16, 7 p.; [1] l., p. 1097–2170, 16 p.; [1] l., p. 2171–3190, [46] l. 40 ½ cm.

Second edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (117) containing the "Spinoza" article in its definitive, considerably enlarged form (vol. 3, pp. 2767–2788).

This edition also contains fifteen other articles in which, more explicitly than in the first, Bayle examines the relation of various thinkers and religious philosophies with Spinoza's philosophy (Aristotle, Abélard, Abumuslimus, Averroës, Césalpin, Buridan, Caïnites, Diogène, Démocrite, Chrysippe, Japon, Leucippe, Lucrèce, Xenophane and Zenon).

- 142 [**Corvinus**, Johann Friedrich, compiler]. *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon und geistliches Ruest-Hauss wider die alten Quacker und neuen Frey-Geister* . . . [Koethen: Wilhelm Andreas Meyer,] 1702. 18 p., [6] l., 186 p., [6] l., 82, 84 p., [2] l., 44 p., [8] l., 367, 44, 16 p., [1] l., 18, 38, 48, 24 p., [4] l., 28 p., [3] l., p. 3–126; 49 plates. 34 cm.

This volume, probably compiled by Johann Friedrich Corvinus (d. 1724), a preacher in a small town near Halberstadt, Germany, comprises a collection of books and treatises by various authors, most of them anonymous, each trying to outdo the other in castigating "heretics" such as Quakers, Anabaptists, free-thinkers and atheists. Among them, displaying an excessive amount of almost obscene furor, is *Fuerstellung vier neuer Welt-Weisen, nahmentlich I. Renati Des Cartes, II. Thomae Hobbes, III. Benedicti Spinosa, IV. Balthasar Beckers, nach ihrem Leben und fuernehmsten Irrthuemern*. The *Fuerstellung* draws freely on Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (39), though leaving him far behind in vulgarity.

The portrait of Spinoza contained in the *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon* is a badly done version of the engraving contained in a few copies of

Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*, 1677 (696); the caption reads "Benedictus de Spinoza, Judaeus et Atheista, etc."

See also my notes on the separate copy of the *Fuerstellung*, 1702 (143).

- 143 **Fuerstellung** vier neuer Welt-Weisen, nahmentlich I. Renati Des Cartes, II. Thomae Hobbes, III. Benedicti Spinosa, IV. Balthasar Beckers, nach ihrem Leben und fuernehmsten Irrthuemern. [Koethen: Wilhelm Andreas Meyer,] 1702. 16 p. 32 ½ cm.

Die Fuerstellung is part of *Anabaptisticum et enthusiasticum Pantheon*, compiled by Johann Friedrich Corvinus, 1702 (142), but was also distributed separately without the portraits. The *Pantheon* as well as the *Fuerstellung* were always rare books, but the latter is cited more often than the former.

- 144 **Howe**, John. *The living temple: or, a designed improvement of that notion that a good man is the temple of God*. Part 1. Concerning God's existence, and his conversableness with man. Against atheism, or the Epicurean deism. (Part II. Containing animadversions on Spinosa, and a French writer pretending to confute him . . .) London: R. Clavell, etc. (vol. 2: Thomas Parkhurst, etc.), 1702. 2 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 35, [1], 366 p., [1] l.; portrait, [1] l., 21, [1], 470 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

John Howe (1630–1706), an English Puritan and Nonconformist, and chaplain to Cromwell, worked on *The living temple* over many years. The first part appeared initially in 1676; with its re-issue in 1702 Howe added a second volume designed to refute Spinoza's metaphysical principles as they appear in the *Ethica*. At the same time Howe repudiates Noël Aubert de Versé's anonymous book *L'impie convaincu*, 1685 (144) for giving support to Spinoza while claiming that it refutes him.

Howe is one of the few writers who took issue with Cuffeler's Spinozistic *Specimen artis ratiocinandi*, 1684 (50) (pp. 34 f.).

1703

- 145 **Castro**, Isaac Orobio de. *Certamen philosophicum propugnatae veritatis divinae ac naturalis. Adversus J.B. principia* . . . Ex quibus quod religio rationi repugnat, demonstrare nititur. Quo in atheismi Spinosa barathro immer-sus jacet. Quod religio nil rationi repugnans credendum proponit, evidenter ostenditur. Amsterdam: Ex autographo A. Theodori Ossaan, 1703. 115 p. 12 cm.

Isaac Orobio de Castro (1620–1687), a Spanish Marrano, was a professor of philosophy at the University of Salamanca and subsequently a physician in

Seville. After years of torture in the prisons of the Spanish Inquisition, he escaped to France and then to Holland. A prominent member of the Jewish Community, de Castro lived since 1666 in Amsterdam. He is the "erudite Jew" who disputed with Philipp van Limborch (see my notes on Limborch's *De veritate religionis christianae amica collatio cum erudito Judaeo*, 1687 (67).

"J.B." against whom de Castro writes is Johannes Bredenburg, the Rotterdam Collegiant, whose *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici*, 1675 (21), had been accused as a Spinozistic writing. De Castro's little book, composed, as he says, after having read for years "Spinoza's, this bad man's, writings," is particularly important as one of the very few documents showing the attitude of Spinoza's fellow-Jews toward him. De Castro is radically opposed to atheistic Spinozism and to any form of Bible criticism.

I believe that this edition of 1703 is the first. It is of extreme rarity, mentioned by few writers and seen by less (van der Linde described a copy in Hamburg, however this copy perished during World War II). Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. 10, 1868, note 1, p. xii) writes that the *Certamen* first appeared in 1684. Nothing is known of such an edition. Graetz's source, not mentioned by him, probably had reference to a manuscript of the kind which Moses Bensabat Amzalek's bibliography describes (Isaac Orobio de Castro, *La observancia de la Divina ley de Mosseh*, Coimbra, 1925, pp. xxviii ff.). The edition of 1703 is made from a manuscript, *ex autographo A. Theodori Ossaan*.

A reprint of the *Certamen* appeared in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs*, 1731 (315).

See also my notes on de Castro's *Israel vengé*, 1770 (523).

- 146 **Proeleus**, Immanuel. *Religio, hominis et boni civis naturalis, vindicata ab objectionibus & exceptionibus Bened. Spinosae & Th. Hobbesii, auctoritate amplissimi ordinis philosophici in Academia Lipsiensi praeside M. Immanuele Proeleo, Stolp. Pomer. respondente Jacobo Immanuele Hamilton. Ad diem 20. Januar. M. DCCIII. . . .* Leipzig: Joh. Heinrich Richter, (1703). [16] l. 19 ½ cm.

Immanuel Proeleus is known as the author of a number of small philosophical writings and comments on natural law. A German, he later lived in Amsterdam.

As a *philosophiae magister* in Leipzig, he submitted the above dissertation which in its first part lists and then refutes erroneous arguments of Spinoza with respect to natural religion; the rest of the dissertation presents a similar refutation of Hobbes.

In 1704 Proeleus re-issued the dissertation in his *Demonstratio de certitudine sensuum, rationis, et fidei* (148).

1704

- 147 [Bayle, Pierre]. *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète qui parut au mois de decembre 1680. Quatrième édition.* Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1704. 2 vols. [15] l., 616 p. (continuous pagination), [9] l. 15 ½ cm.

See my notes on the second edition of 1683 (45) and on Bayle's *Continuation des Pensées diverses*, 1705 (150).

- 148 **Proeleus**, Immanuel. *Demonstratio de certitudine sensuum, rationis, et fidei . . . Accessit dissertatio, qua naturalis religio hominis et boni civis evidenter demonstratur.* Leipzig: Theophil Georg, 1704. [8] l., 444, 118 p. 14 ½ cm.

Proeleus' dissertation, *Religio . . . vindicata ab objectionibus et exceptionibus Bened. Spinosae et Th. Hobbesii*, 1703 (146) forms the second and third chapters of the appendix to this book.

- 149 **Toland**, John. *Letters to Serena: containing, i. The origin and force of prejudices. ii. The history of the soul's immortality among the heathens. iii. The origin of idolatry, and reasons of heathenism. As also, iv. A letter to a gentleman in Holland, showing Spinoza's system of philosophy to be without any principle or foundation. v. Motion essential to matter; in answer to some remarks by a noble friend on the Confutation of Spinoza. To all which is prefix'd vi. A preface; being a letter to a gentleman in London, sent together with the foregoing dissertations, and declaring the several occasions of writing them.* London: Bernard Lintot, 1704. [26] l., 239 p. 19 ½ cm.

The Serena of these *Letters* is the Prussian queen Sophie Charlotte, who had befriended John Toland (1670–1722), the Irish freethinker, during his stay in Berlin. The queen had arranged for Toland, a temporary expatriate from London as a political and philosophical dissenter, to meet her friend Leibnitz and local scholars for philosophic discussions. The *Letters*, or at least some of the *Letters*, reflect these learned sessions.

Toland, at that time certainly in favor of many of the "theological" tenets of Spinoza and on the way toward the radical "Spinozism" of his *Adeisidemon*, 1709 (178) and *Pantheisticon*, 1720 (251), nevertheless disagrees with some of the purely philosophical consequences of Spinoza's system. It is interesting to note that his critique of Spinoza in this book never touches such issues as God, pantheism, atheism, etc.

A French translation appeared in 1768 (518).

- 150 [Bayle, Pierre]. Continuation des Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comete qui parut au mois de decembre 1680. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez que Monsieur*** a proposées à l'auteur. . . . Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1705. 2 vols. [15] l., 802 p. (continuous pagination), [16] l. 15 ½ cm.

The *Continuation* was written years after the publication of the *Pensées* (45) to take care of many kinds of accumulated criticism. It takes up some of Bayle's familiar themes on Spinoza: Spinozistic atheism characterizes the dogma of Asian sects (p.68); Bayle's critique of Spinoza's concept of God (p.124); Spinoza, although he presents the most formalized kind of atheism, teaches laudable ethical doctrines (p.728). It also refers to Jurieu's criticism of Spinoza's God (p.489).

- 151 [Carroll, William]. Remarks upon Mr. Clarke's sermons, preached at St. Paul's against Hobbs, Spinoza, and other atheists. Wherein 'tis demonstrated: I. That Mr. C. by the sceptical hypothesis he employs, absolutely cuts off all possible means of knowing the nature, or of proving the existence of the one only true God, against Hobbs, Spinoza, or any other atheists whatever. II. That in reference to God, or spirits, he reduces humane understanding, to the most incuable state of scepticism. These two particulars are handl'd and prov'd geometrically. III. The reasons are produced which convince the author of this paper, that those sermons do rather establish than destroy, do rather confirm than confute Spinoza's hypothesis. London: Jonathan Robinson, 1705. [1] l., 42 p. 20 ½ cm.

In 1704/05 Samuel Clarke preached the R. Boyle lectures choosing for his topic a demonstration of the being and attributes of God against the views of Hobbes, Spinoza and their followers. The sermons were published in 1705; the *Remarks* by an anonymous writer appeared the same year. According to a contemporary inscription on the title page of my copy, the author of the *Remarks* is William Carroll. Carroll points out that Clarke mistranslated and misinterpreted Spinoza, and that his refutation is in effect a confirmation of Spinoza. Similarly, Carroll asserts that Locke borrowed many of his notions from Spinoza, in fact his "only design in writing his *Essay of humane understanding* was to establish Spinoza's hypothesis" (p.10). Carroll elaborated on the same theme in his *Dis-sertation upon the tenth chapter of the fourth book of Mr. Locke's Essay concerning humane understanding wherein that author's endeavours to establish Spinoza's atheistical hypothesis . . . are . . . confuted*. He is also the author of *Spinoza reviv'd*, 1709 (174).

Clarke rejected Carroll's attack in the preface of later editions of his sermons (189).

- 152 [Faydit, Pierre-Valentin]. Remarques sur Virgile et sur Homère, et sur le style poetique de l'Ecriture-Sainte; où l'on refute les inductions pernicieuses que Spinoza, Grotius et Mr. le Clerc ont tirées, et quelques opinions particulieres du Pere Mallebranche, du Sieur l'Elevel, & de Monsieur Simon. Paris: Jean & Pierre Cot, 1705. [8] l., 606 p., [19] l. 16 ½ cm.

Pierre-Valentin Faydit (1644–1709), an Oratorian abbot fond of literary gossip as much as of theological controversy, wrote about Virgil and Homer not as literary figures but rather to determine how their poetic figments stood up under the scrutiny of religion. Thus the verses of Virgil and Homer end up providing him with reasons to refute Socinianism and Spinozism (pp.102 ff.) and are found equally suited to dispute Malebranche, Le Clerc and Richard Simon or unmask them as Spinozists. On the other hand, Faydit is independent enough to censure for shallowness such an accepted anti-Spinozistic book as Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis* (39, 139) and his fellow-Oratorian Lelevel's attempts to criticize Spinoza (pp.198 ff.).

- 153 Gildon, Charles. The deist's manual: or, a rational enquiry into the Christian religion. With some considerations on Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the Oracles of reason, Second thoughts, &c. . . . London: A. Roper, etc., 1705. [15] l., 36, 16, 301, [1] p. 19 cm.

Charles Gildon (1665–1724) was the author of many books in many fields, all of them trite and incompetent. Brought up as a Catholic, he became a bellicose deist and published Charles Blount's *Oracles of Reason*. Then, under the influence of Charles Leslie, author of *A short and easie method with the Deists*, he converted to orthodoxy and wrote *The deist's manual* as a kind of apology.

The title page promises "considerations on Spinoza." He is nowhere expressly mentioned; whatever there is of polemics is handled implicitly.

- 154 Goeree, Willem. De kerklyke en weereldlyke historien . . . doorgans met noodige land-tafereelen, troni-beelden, aal-ouwd penningen . . . gestoffeerd. Amsterdam: Gerardus en Jakobus Borstius, 1705. Frontispiece, [21] l., 746 p., [47] l.; numerous plates and text illustrations. 20 cm.

Willem Goeree (1635–1711), an engraver and learned bookdealer in Amsterdam, was the author of numerous historical and religious books. His presentation of the life, teachings and influence of Spinoza in this illustrated history of the world follows closely, in concept and even wording, the Dutch translation by Halma of Bayle's biography published in 1698 (120).

An engraving of Spinoza by Goeree, done after the portrait of the *Opera posthuma* (696) appears on p.668.

- 155 **Vossius**, Gerhard Johann and Johann **Jacob**. *De philosophorum sectis liber. Cum continuatione & supplementis Johannis Jacobi a Ryssel*. Leipzig: Johann Caspar Meyer; Jena: Heinrich Beyer, 1705. [4] l., 216 p., [2] l. 19 ½ cm.

Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577–1649), the great classical scholar and friend of Hugo Grotius, left his book on philosophical schools for posthumous publication. It appeared in 1658. In 1690 it was re-issued with supplements by Johann Jacob à Ryssel. The above edition discusses Spinoza, his impious and horrible writings, and some of his opponents (p. 203).

1706

- 156 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Analecta historiae philosophicae*. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1706. 463 p., [12] l. 16 ½ cm.

Johannes Franz Budde [Buddeus] (1667–1729), professor of philosophy in Halle and Jena, dedicated his career to exposing the dangers of atheism (179, 202, 231, 248, 270, 288, 345, 375). *Analecta*, a collection of academic dissertations, contains the *Exercitatio historico-philosophica de Spinozismo ante Spinozam* (pp. 307–359), which searches Greek, medieval and cabalistic philosophy for traces of Spinozism — and, as can be expected, comes up with a long list.

- 157 **Colerus**, Jean. *La vie de B. de Spinoza, tirée des écrits de ce fameux philosophe, et du témoignage de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi, qui l'ont connu particulièrement*. The Hague: T. Johnson, 1706. (Followed by): **Colerus**, Jean. *La vérité de la résurrection de Jésus Christ, défendue contre B. de Spinoza, et ses sectateurs. Avec la vie de ce fameux philosophe. . .* The Hague: T. Johnson, 1706. 288 p.; [4] l., 80 p. 15 cm.

Jean Colerus [Johann Koehler] (1647–1707), minister of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, first published his biography of Spinoza in Dutch (1705) together with a sermon against allegorical interpretations of Jesus' resurrection, which interpretations Colerus considered Spinozistic. The Dutch version was quickly followed, and for all practical purposes supplanted, by the inferior French version. Obviously, Colerus' biography was to follow his sermon. In my copy as well as in other copies the order is reversed: the biography was considered the more important book.

"Many details have been added, corrected or cleared up since, but Colerus remains the principal authority on Spinoza's life. He detests the philosophy of Spinoza, but is too honest to slander his character as a man, or even to conceal his admiration for it." (Pollock)

An English translation appeared in 1706 (158) and a German one in 1733 (323).

- 158 **Colerus**, Jean. *The life of Benedict de Spinoza . . . Done out of French*. London: Printed by D. L. And sold by Benj. Bragg . . . , 1706. [1] l., 92 p. 17 cm.

The English translation of the French version of Colerus' biography of 1706 (157).

- 159 **Leenhof**, Frederik van. *Der Himmel auf Erden, oder eine kurze und klare Beschreibung der wahren und beständigen Freude, so wol nach der Vernunft, als der H. Schrift, fuer allerley Ahrten Leuten in allerley Vorfaellen . . . Wobey ein Sendschreiben gefueget ist, was von diesem Werk zu halten*. Amsterdam: Jacob von Wesel, 1706. [6] l., 212, 22 p. 15 ½ cm.

Frederik van Leenhof's (1647–1712) *Den hemel op aarden* (Heaven on earth) appeared in 1704 and immediately the book by this preacher of the Reformed church in Zwolle, Holland caused a mighty tumult. Its main thesis is that the necessary order of nature is identical with God; bowing joyfully to that necessary order leads to happiness; revolting against or resenting the natural laws is revolting against God (55).

A host of writers sensing that the roots of Leenhof's teachings lay in Spinoza's *Ethica* accused him of heresy. Leenhof was excommunicated, but for many years his special brand of Spinozism, described in Jenichen's *Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiani*, 1707 (162), was hunted in suspect literature.

The translator of this extremely rare book is unknown; so is the identity of the author of the appended *Sendschreiben*, a mild rejection of Leenhof's book.

- 160 **Wachter**, Johann Georg. *Elucidarius cabalisticus, sive reconditae Hebraeorum philosophiae brevis & succincta recensio*. Rome [Rostock], 1706. [1] l., 78 p. 17 cm.

In his *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb*, 1699 (129), Wachter had asserted the Spinozistic character of the Cabala. The *Elucidarius* repeats this stance. However, whereas Wachter had rejected both philosophies in his earlier work, he now reverses his stand, declares that he misunderstood Spinoza as well as the Cabala, praises them and stands ready to accept and help spread their teachings.

Leibnitz was intrigued by Wachter's book; his notes on it, *Animadversiones ad Joh. Georg Wachteri librum de recondita Hebraeorum philosophia*, are contained in Foucher de Careil's *Une réfutation inédite de Spinoza par Leibnitz*, Paris, 1854.

- 161 **Basnage**, Jacques. *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs, depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'à present. Pour servir de supplément & de continuation à l'Histoire de Joseph*. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1706–1707. 5 vols. [29] l., 1132 p. (continuous pagination in vols. 1 and 2), [18] l.; [5] l., 2174 p. (continuous pagination in vols. 3, 4 and 5), [41] l. 15 ½ cm.

Jacques Basnage (1653–1723), a Protestant theologian and historian, was born in France, became a refugee in 1685 and died in Holland. His *Histoire des Juifs*

is one of the first attempts by a Christian, and a Christian theologian at that, to write an objective history of the Jews. Basnage's account of Spinoza, based mainly on Colerus, is on a higher level than most contemporary accounts (vol. 5, pp. 2106–2112). Spinoza's system, analyzed in vol. 3, pp. 86–107, is compared with the Cabala — “Spinoza preferred the learned of his nation to the philosophers and his great skill consisted in adjusting the principles of the Cabalists concerning emanations to those of Descartes” (vol. 1, l. [4]). This chapter benefits from Basnage's knowledge of Jewish medieval philosophy.

1707

- 162 **Jenichen**, Gottlob Friedrich. *Historia Spinozismi Leenhofiana publica in Belgio novissime damnati ex authenticis documentis collecta*. Leipzig: Jo. Herebord Klosius, 1707. [10] l., 234 p. 15 ½ cm.

The recent banning of Frederik van Leenhof's *Den hemel op aarden* (159) and its author's subsequent fluctuations as to whether to stand by the views of his book prompted Gottlob Friedrich Jenichen (1680–1735), professor of morals and politics in Leipzig, to write the history of the controversy which had raged since the book appeared in 1704. In addition, it provides important information on Spinoza based on an unusually thorough knowledge of the Spinoza literature. Jenichen had even travelled to The Hague to see Jean Colerus, the biographer of Spinoza.

A bibliography of anti-Spinozistic writings is given on pp. 52–73.

- 163 **Staalkopf**, Jacob. *Ab impiis detorsionibus Thomae Hobbesii & Benedicti de Spinoza, oraculum Paulinum Per ipsum vivimus, movemur, & sumus*, Act. XVII, 28. Greifswald: G. H. Adolph, (1707). 28 p. 21 cm.

Jacob Staalkopf, who studied at the University of Greifswald, Germany, and later became a pastor in Wismar, is the author of a number of dissertations presenting Spinoza's errors and misconceptions. In this one, suggested by his teacher Joh. Friedrich Mayer (93), he discusses the impious distortion of the Paulinian “In Him we live, move and are” caused by the Spinozistic theory of the immanence of the world in the substance. He further discusses the relationship of the Cabalists, and of Weigel and Boehme to Spinoza.

1708

- 164 **Basnage**, Jacques. *The history of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the present time: containing their antiquities, their religion, their rites, the dispersion of the ten*

tribes in the East, and the persecutions this nation has suffer'd in the West. Being a supplement and continuation of the History of Josephus . . . Translated into English by Tho[mas] Taylor. . . . London: J. Bearer and B. Lintot, etc., 1708. 10 p., [3] l., 759, [1] p. 37 ½ cm.

English translation of Basnage's *L'histoire et la religion des Juifs*, 1706–1707 (161).

- 165 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Miscellaneous reflections, occasion'd by the comet which appear'd in December 1680. Chiefly tending to explode popular superstitions . . . Translated from the French. To which is added, The author's life*. London: J. Morphew, 1708. 2 vols. 38 p., p. 1–326; [4] l., p. 329–550 (slightly erroneous continuous pagination); 224 p. 17 ½ cm.

The English translation of Bayle's *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne, à l'occasion de la comète* (45).

- 166 **[Gastrell, Francis]**. *The principles of deism truly represented and set in a clear light, in two dialogues between a sceptick and a deist. . . .* London: John Morphew, 1708. [1] l., 127, [1] p. 19 ½ cm.

Francis Gastrell (1662–1725), an English divine, bishop of Chester, Boyle lecturer and author of theological works, shows how the deficiencies of skeptical philosophies and deism, and their inconclusiveness, must lead the sincere thinker to the truth of Christian religion. He discusses the shortcomings of the mathematical method used by Spinoza (pp. 16 f.), and believes that Spinoza and other godless philosophers, because they lived under Christian magistrates, had to profess themselves Christians “to save their bacon.”

- 167 **[Malebranche, Nicolas]**. *Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien, et d'un philosophe chinois. Sur l'existence & la nature de Dieu. . . .* Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 73 p. 16 ½ cm. Issue showing January 5, 1708 as date of approbation (see the following entry).

This booklet appeared in January, 1708 and is one of the last writings of the aged Malebranche. He wrote it at the request of Bishop de Lyon, formerly a missionary in China. The bishop had told Malebranche that his philosophy had been helpful in refuting the Chinese philosophers and asked him to compose a philosophical guide which would utilize the Chinese philosophical truths to expound and prove the Christian ones.

Upon the publication of the *Entretien* the Jesuits felt that it was a diatribe against them and the opinions they held on missionary work in China. Their journal, the *Journal de Trévoux*, published in July, 1708 a critique of the *Entretien*, accusing Malebranche's booklet of promoting Spinozism. Malebranche should

have been accustomed to this reproach which had been made with respect to many of his writings (56). Yet, almost immediately he answered with another booklet, *Avis au lecteur*, published in August, 1708 (169).

- 168 [Malebranche, Nicolas]. *Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien, et d'un philosophe chinois. Sur l'existence & la nature de Dieu*. . . . Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 73 p. 15 ½ cm. Issue showing January 7, 1708 as date of approbation.

A different issue of the preceding work, having the same page count and the same distribution of the text over the pages, but different vignettes.

- 169 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Avis touchant l'Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien avec un philosophe chinois . . . pour servir de réponse à la critique de cet Entretien*, inserée dans les *Mémoires de Trévoux* du mois de juillet 1708. Paris: Michel David, 1708. [1] l., 40 p. 15 ½ cm.

In this little book Malebranche first explains what had motivated him to write his *Entretien* a few months before (167, 168). He then reviews the Jesuit attack on it paragraph by paragraph, protesting vehemently against the accusation of Spinozism leveled at him. His adversaries, he maintains, have misquoted him maliciously.

The *Journal de Trévoux*, December, 1708 renewed the attack, but Malebranche did not answer any more.

Another edition of this work appeared in 1730 (309).

- 170 Morhof, Daniel Georg. *Polyhistor . . . literarium, . . . philosophicum et practicum . . . Opus posthumum . . . accurate revisum, emendatum . . . a Johanne Moellero*. . . . Luebeck: Petrus Boeckmann, 1708. 2 vols. Portrait, [5] l., 768 p.; [4] l., 30, 406, 534, 130, 80 p.; [104] l. 21 cm.

Daniel Georg Morhof (1639–1691) was a poet, linguist and lexicographer, who in his *Polyhistor* made the heroic attempt to present the entire realm of knowledge in one systematic book.

His notes on Spinoza, "Is there anything more pestilential than Spinoza's books?" (vol. 1, pp. 51, 78–79; vol. 2, p. 122; vol. 3, pp. 4, 47–48, 50) lack any originality.

- 171 Placcius, Vincent. *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum . . . auspiciis . . . Dn. Matthiae Dreyeri . . . luci publicae redditum*. . . . Hamburg: Vidua Gothofredi, Liebernickelü, 1708. [1] l., frontispiece, [16] l., 722 p., [2] l., 623, 195 p. 34 cm.

Prepared by Vincent Placcius (1642–1699), a professor in Hamburg and a writer in many fields, and published posthumously under the editorship of Matthias

Dreyer, the *Theatrum* is the earliest attempt at a comprehensive dictionary of anonymous and pseudonymous literature. In fact, often it is more: the entry *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is a valuable lengthy dissertation on the book, its author and the early literature about it (part [1], pp. 176 ff.); see also pp. 150 f. on *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) and p. 566 on the French translation of the *Tractatus* (686–689).

The volume contains (last part, pp. 1–64) a reprint of Deckherr's *De scriptis adespotis*, 1686 (63).

- 172 Poirer, Pierre. *De eruditione triplici solida, superficiali et falsa libri tres, hac nova editione auctiores & correctiores, in quibus veritatum solidarum origo ac via ostenditur; tum cognitionum scientiarumque humanarum, & in specie Cartesianismi, fundamenta, valor, defectus, & errores deteguntur. Praemittitur Vera methodus inveniendi verum. Accedit Christiani Thomasii, Jcti nova praefatio*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Zeitler, 1708. Frontispiece, 817, [6] p. 16 ½ cm.

A new edition of Poirer's *De eruditione* 1694 (103).

- 173 Deyling, Salomon. *Observationum sacrarum pars prima (-tertia), in qua multa scripturae Vet. ac Novi Testamenti dubia vexata solvuntur, loca difficiliora ex antiquitate et variae doctrinae apparatu, illustrantur, atque ab audaci recentiorum criticorum depravatione, sigillatim H. Grotii, B. Spinozae, R. Simonii, P.D. Huetii, Jo. Clerici, aliorumque solide vindicantur*. . . . Leipzig: Frid. Lanckisch, 1708–1715. 3 vols. [8] l., 234 p., [11] l.; [8] l., 463, [23] p., 3 plates; [8] l., 471, [46] p. 6 plates. 20 ½ cm.

Salomon Deyling (1677–1755), a professor of theology at the University of Leipzig, was one of those orthodox churchmen who used an unending supply of invective to characterize the depravity of Spinoza's teachings (vol. 1, pp. 2, 67; vol. 2, pp. 3, 23, 184, 366). On the other hand, his listings of writings critical of Spinoza (vol. 1, pp. 7 ff.; vol. 2, pp. 3 ff.) are of some value.

1709

- 174 [Carroll, William]. *Spinoza reviv'd: or, a treatise, proving the book, entitled, The rights of the Christian Church, &c. (in the most notorious parts of it) to be the same with Spinoza's Rights of the Christian clergy, &c. And that both of them are grounded upon downright atheism. To which is added, A preliminary discourse relating to the said books, by the Reverend Dr. George Hicks*. London: J. Morphew, 1709. [36] l., 179 p. 19 cm.

The thesis of this book is that Matthew Tindal's *The rights of the Christian church*, an anti-clerical defense of the power of the state against rights assumed by the church, is in large parts identical with Lucii Antistii Constantis (i.e. Pierre de la Court's) *De jure ecclesiasticorum*, (1665) which William Carroll, like other early writers, attributed to Spinoza. Carroll (151) further shows that generally the teachings of deism follow Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Tindal is mostly remembered for the work of his late years, *Christianity as old as the creation; or the Gospel a reduplication of the religion of nature*, 1730, a milestone in English deism (316).

The author of the *Preliminary discourse*, George Hickes [sic] (1642–1715), an English divine and scholar, backs Carroll's thesis and denounces Tindal as an atheist in whose work the execrable principles of Spinoza are hidden.

- 175 **Des Maizeaux**, Pierre. *La vie de Messire Charles de Saint-Denis Sieur de Saint-Evremond; Maréchal de camp des armées du Roi Très-Chrétien*. 74 p., [1] l. 28 cm. (From: Saint-Evremond, Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis. *Oeuvres meslées*, Seconde édition, vol. 1. London: Jacob Tonson, 1709.)

Saint-Evremond (1610–1703) was France's field marshal under Louis XIV. Involved in the fall of Fouquet, he had to flee abroad. As a litterateur, living in Holland and England, he occupied himself with historical and philosophic studies. Around 1670, and perhaps later, he visited Spinoza. His biographer, Pierre Des Maizeaux (1666–1745), about whose life little is known except that he was connected with St. Evremond and Pierre Bayle and spent the later part of his life in London, describes the impression Spinoza made upon the visitor (p. 29). Gustave Cohen, *Le séjour de Saint-Evremond en Hollande et l'entrée de Spinoza dans le champ de la pensée française*, Paris, 1926, maintains that it was through Saint-Evremond that Spinoza became an influence in French thought.

This edition of Des Maizeaux' biography of Saint-Evremond is the definitive one; see also my notes on the English translation of Saint-Evremond's *Works*, 1714 (217).

- 176 **La Placette**, Jean. *Eclaircissemens sur quelques difficultez qui naissent de la consideration de la liberté nécessaire pour agir moralement. Avec une addition, où l'on prouve contre Spinoza que nous sommes libres. Pour servir de suite à la Réponse aux objections de Mr. Bayle*. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1709. [4] l., 388 p. 15 ½ cm.

Jean La Placette (1639–1718), who has been called the Nicole of the Protestants, was expatriated from France, became pastor of the French Church at Copenhagen and died in Utrecht, Holland. The lengthy dissertation (pp. 277–338), refuting Spinoza's denial of free will, continues from the point where La

Placette's *Réponse à deux objections qu'on oppose de la part de la raison à ce que la foi nous apprend sur l'origine du mal*, 1707, rests its attack against Bayle. Without free will, La Placette argues, there can be no morality and without morality no society to which, as Bayle would have it, moral atheists could be admitted.

- 177 **Stillingfleet**, Edward. *Origines sacrae: or, a rational account of the grounds of natural and reveal'd religion*. The eighth edition. To which is now added part of another book upon the same subject, written A.D. MDCXCVII. Published from the author's own manuscript. London: Henry and George Mortlock, 1709. Portrait, [14] l., 386 p., [2] l., 116 p., [1] l. 31 cm.

During his last years Edward Stillingfleet's involvement in controversy with nonconformists, deists and Socinians, which started much earlier (27), became even more intense. The second part of this book, written two years before his death and designed as "an answer to the modern objections of atheists and deists," deals with Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 63f.), especially the question of religion and superstition; and Spinoza's "mathematical Ethics" and the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, particularly the issue of final causes (pp. 93–99).

- 178 **Toland**, John. *Adeisidaemon, sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus. In qua dissertatione probatur, Livium historicum in sacris, prodigiis, & ostentis Romanorum enarrandis, haudquaquam fuisse credulum aut superstitiosum; ipsamque superstitionem non minus reipublicae (si non magis) exitiosam esse, quam purum putum atheismum . . . Annexae sunt ejusdem Origines judaicae*. The Hague: Thomas Johnson, 1709. [11] l., 199, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

John Toland, who in his *Letters to Serena*, 1704 (149) had discussed Spinoza with deliberate prudence, propounds in his *Adeisidaemon*, five years later, the thesis that superstition is as dangerous to the state as atheism. In the appendix, *Origines judaicae*, he states that Moses was a pantheist and that Spinozism can be found in the Pentateuch and Spinoza's atheism appears in the name "Jehovah" (p. 193).

See also my notes on Johannes Franz Budde's *Invitatio*, 1710 (179) and *Dissertationum theologicarum syntagma*, 1715 (221).

1710

- 179 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. [Invitatio] . . . ad lectiones cursorias, quas vocant, et disputationem inauguratam . . . Io. Andreae Danzii. . . Jena: Adolph Muller, (1710). [16] l. 20 cm.

In this "academic invitation" Johannes Franz Budde (see my notes on his *Analecta*, 1706) cites the controversy which arose after Toland in his *Adeisidæmon*, 1709 (178) characterized Moses as a Spinozistic atheist.

- 180 **Jucundus de Laboribus.** Freye Gedancken von Realis de Vienna Pruefung des Versuchs vom Wesen des Geistes, den Christian Thomasius, P.P. in Halle, 1699. an Tag gegeben hat. zum andernmahl gedruckt. (Halle), 1710. 72 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1699 Christian Thomasius published his *Versuch von Wesen des Geistes* (128). Gabriel Wagner (ca. 1665–?), a philosophic adventurer, writing under a nom de plume, Realis de Vienna, composed a biting attack against it. The identity of Jucundus de Laboribus who then wrote against Wagner is unknown.

The booklet denounces Wagner as a Spinozist: it says that he learned his mathematical tricks from Spinoza (p. 48) and teaches *aeternitas mundi* in the fashion of Spinoza's *Ethica* (p. 51).

- 181 **Laubrusse**, Ignace de. *Traité des abus de la critique en matière de religion*. Paris: Grégoire Du Puis, 1710–1711. 2 vols. [5] l., 39 p., [6] l., 394 p., [9] l.; [6] l., 417, [12] p. 16 ½ cm.

Ignace de Laubrusse, a Jesuit in Strasbourg, directs his wrath at the philological critics of the Bible, men like Richard Simon, Jean Le Clerc, Hugo Grotius, and their followers, who in his opinion demonstrate that the art of critique is in truth "the art of not believing anything." Spinoza, of course, who asked that in a free republic each individual be granted the right to think what he wishes (vol. 1, pp. 58 f.) and summarily destroyed the divine origin and authority of the Bible, becomes one of the main targets of Laubrusse's attack (vol. 1, pp. 201–204, 226, 237, 278; vol. 2, p. 326).

- 182 **Struve**, Burkhard Gotthelf. *Introductio in notitiam rei litterariae et usum bibliothecarum* [...] Accessit Dissertatio de doctis impostoribus et huic tertia editioni accedunt Supplementa necessaria et Oratio de meritis Germanorum in historiam. Jena: Ernst Claudius Bailliar, 1710. [8] l., 576 p., [23] l., 76 p., [2] l., 177, [10] p. 16 cm.

This work on libraries and booklore by Burkhard Gotthelf Struve (1671–1738), a German historian and librarian, relies on Bayle in dealing, in the chapter "De libris damnatis et prohibitis," with Spinoza's writing (pp. 451 f.).

A treatise on the *Liber de tribus impostoribus* (665, 667) is contained in the appended dissertation *De doctis impostoribus* (pp. 16–41).

- 183 **Theosophia** pneumatica, oder, Geheime Gottes-Lehre, die Dinge Gottes vortragend im neuen Wesen des Geistes, abthuende das alte Wesen des Buchstabens,

zur Entweohnung der Saeuglinge von ihren sectirischen Mutter-Bruesten, erkläret von zwey glaubhafften Zeugen, deren Namen am besten zu finden in dem Buch der Lebendigen. N.p., 1710. [48] l., 568 p., folding chart, 80, 266 p., [3] l. 16 ½ cm.

I have not been able to determine the author or editor of the *Theosophia pneumatica*. Whoever he is, his book is aggressively pietistic as well as influenced by Jacob Boehme. It denounces all theological school-philosophies and propounds an individualized, strongly emotional religiosity derived from an immediate attachment to God. Jacob Bril (1639–1700), the Dutch Spinozist of Leiden, a follower of Hattem, who had dissolved Spinozism into a mysticism approaching pantheism, is praised in the preface as "the true though hidden theologian of our time." A German translation of Bril's *De weg des vredes, Der Weg des Friedens*, forms the final section of the book.

See also my notes on the new edition of the same translation of Bril's work, 1719 (243).

- 184 **Thomasius**, Christian. *Einleitung zur Hof-Philosophie, oder, kurtzer Entwurff und die ersten Linien von der Klugheit zu bedencken und vernuenfftig zu schliessen*. . . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Michael Ruediger, 1710. [11] l., 296, 47 p. 16 ½ cm.

Christian Thomasius (72) was among the few writers of his time who possessed a detailed knowledge of early Spinozists. Thus he is aware of Cuffeler, the author of *Specimen artis ratiocinandi*, 1684 (50). Cuffeler is described as one among those who cover up their atheism by asserting that something may be true philosophically which has been proved wrong in theology (p. 143).

- 185 **Neuer** Buecher-Saal der gelehrten Welt oder ausfuehrliche Nachrichten von allerhand neuen Buechern und andern zur heutigen Historie der Gelehrsamkeit gehoerigen Sachen. Leipzig: Gleditsch und Weidmann, 1710–1717. 5 vols.; 60 issues, each preceded by a portrait. 16 ½ cm.

The *Neuer Buechersaal*, edited by Johann Gottlob Krause (1684–1736) and the philosopher Johann Georg Walch (1693–1775), is a scholarly journal devoted to the review of books and to scholarly news.

Reviews of books refuting Spinoza appear in vol. 2, p. 352; vol. 3, p. 165 and vol. 4, p. 718 f.

1711

- 186 **Andala**, Ruardus. *Syntagma theologico-physico-metaphysicum, complectens Compendium theologiae naturalis; Paraphrasin in Principia philosophiae*

Renati Des-Cartes; ut & Dissertationum philosophicarum heptada. Franeker: Wibiuis Bleck, 1711. [8] l., 224 p.; [2] l., 291, [1] p.; [2] l., 292 p. 19 ½ cm.

Ruardus Andala (1665–1727), professor of philosophy at the Dutch University of Franeker, was a Cartesian who, early in his career, sympathized with Geulincx, but then turned away from him because he came to consider him as a forerunner of Spinoza. Andala denied the identity of the Cartesian and Spinozistic philosophies and refuted the view that Spinozism originated in Descartes.

The *Syntagma* comprises three of Andala's books. The first, *Compendium theologiae naturalis*, is prefaced by a poem by Cornelius Schellinger in which Andala is praised for having left behind "*Spinosas plagas*," the thorny realms (once again the old and common pun!). The book abounds with attacks on Spinoza (pp. 15, 55, 61 f., 67 f., 74 f., 77, 80, 86 and passim).

Equally critical are the philosophic dissertations forming the third part of *Syntagma* (pp. 134, 138 f., 185 ff., 192 f., 228 f., 255 f.).

- 187 **Bayle, Pierre.** Het leven van B. de Spinoza, met eenige aantekeningen over zyn bedryf, schriften, en gevoelens: door den Heere Bayle, leeraar der wysgeerte te Rotterdam. Nevens een kort betoog van de waarheit des christelyken godsdiensts; en twee verhandelungen, I. Van de ziel. II. Van Gods wezentlykheit. Door den Heere Jaquelot, leeraar der Fransche Kerke in's Gravenhage. Vertaald door F. Halma. De voorreden behelst eenige aanmerkingen tegens t' Levensvervolg van Philopater. Utrecht: Willem Broedelet, 1711. [95] l., 464 p., [8] l. 16 cm.

This edition is the one of 1698 (120) except for a new updated title page. Halma's Dutch translation of Bayle's biography of Spinoza certainly had been no bestseller!

- 188 **Berns, Michael.** Das natuerliche Licht des Verstandes in seinem centralischen Wesen und das in algebräischer und also nicht fehlender Arth auffgefuehret; auch sind zugleich die Irr-Lichter von denen phantastischen Pietisten, item der neuen Christen mit auffgestecket, und ist dargethan, wie dieser Hauffe durchhin Spinozistisch, und den groebsten Naturalismus und Atheismus profitiren, absonderlich aber ist des Roemelings Zerstoerung Babels nach dem Grunde der Natur wiederleget und sind dessen schaendliche Bloesse und Greuel entdeckt. Hamburg und Leipzig: Reumann, 1711. [3] l., 1 pl., 94, [1] p. 20 cm.

Michael Berns, whose anti-Spinozism shows in each of his rare books (118), attacks in this wild diatribe all forms of Christian religion except its orthodox Protestant interpretation. All others are branded in the vilest terms as naturalistic and Spinozistic. The Pietists are the favorite target of the author's

wrath. One chapter of the book discusses the Spinozistic interpretation of the "natural light of reason," another the Spinozistic concept of a "material God" and its similarity to the God of the "Fanatics" and the God of the "Algebraists" (second page of preface, pp. 2 f., 23, 32, 48, 59–62).

- 189 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons preach'd at the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the year 1704, and 1705. at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The third edition, corrected. London: William Botham and James Knapton, 1711. [37] l., 142 p., [1] l., 351, [1] p. 19 cm.

In 1704 at St. Paul's, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), English philosopher and theologian, gave the lectures established by Robert Boyle to confute atheism. Dealing with the being and attributes of God, Clarke devoted them to a refutation of Spinoza.

Representing "the most serious and capable polemic against Spinoza" in England at its time (Pollock), the book went through many editions (229, 297, 298, 356) and was translated into Latin (209), French (232) and other languages.

The preface contains Clarke's answer to Carroll's pamphlet, *Remarks upon Mr. Clarke's Sermons*, London, 1705 (151).

- 190 **Des Maizeaux, Pierre.** La vie de Mr^e Charles de Saint-Denis, Sieur de St. Evremond; Maréchal de camp des armées du Rois Très-Chrétien . . . Nouvelle édition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée de plusieurs pieces qui n'ont point encore paru. The Hague: Abraham Troyel, 1711. [3] l., 363 p. 14 ½ cm.

A reprint of the edition of 1709 (175).

- 191 **Malebranche, Nicolas.** Entretiens sur la métaphysique, sur la religion, et sur la mort. Nouvelle édition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. Paris: Michel David, 1711. 2 vols. [30] l., 383 p.; [2] l., 422, [5] p. 16 cm.

Enlarged edition of the *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et sur la religion*, 1688 (70). The passages referring to Spinoza in this new ("the most exact") edition are found on pp. 310 and 338 ff.

- 192 **Pufendorf, Samuel.** Acht Buecher vom Natur-und Voelcker-Rechte, mit . . . ausserlesenen Anmerkungen erlaeutert, und in die Teutsche Sprach uebersezet. . . Frankfurt am Main: Friedrich Knoch, 1711. Portrait, [14] l., 1036, 1020 p., [59] l. 20 ½ cm.

German translation of Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (53).

The comments on the passages dealing with Spinoza, added in this edition (part [1], pp. 271 ff., 642, 645), are insignificant.

- 193 **Weisen**, Crispin. Des verkaptten und ertaptten Christiani Democriti eigentliches Contrafey, in befugter und gruendlicher Aufdeckung aller seiner zeit-hero heraus gegebenen verdammlichen Schriften, bey dem Lichte der goettlichen und historischen Wahrheit, jedermaenniglich zum Abscheu, gezeiget. . . . Dresden und Leipzig: Gottfried Lesch, 1711. [1] l., 254 p. 15 1/2 cm.

Christianus Democritus was the pseudonym used by Johann Conrad Dippel (1673–1734) for most of his many writings. A German-born theologian, he turned to the study of pharmacy and medicine, became a physician in Amsterdam and Hamburg and an alchemistic practitioner in these and other cities. Often in conflict with the authorities, he once spent seven years in a Danish prison. His theological writings reveal him as a Pietist who, driven by an uncompromising anti-clericalism, approached positions of radical enlightenment. Irreverent as his writings are, they never completely abandon their pietistic foundations.

The first collection of Dippel's religious writings appeared in 1709 under the title *Eroeffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und allen Creaturen*. Crispin Weisen's book is one of a vast number of attacks on Dippel which will not cease for many years. Weisen — who is he? a pseudonym? — denounces him as a freethinker and heretic. He compares his fatalism to that of the Dutch Spinozists, such as Pontianus von Hattem and Frederik van Leenhof (pp. 237 ff.). He censures Dippel for not having recognized while he lived in Amsterdam the stupid confusion of Willem Deurhof for which the Dutch translators of Descartes and Spinoza are to blame because they made it possible for simple people to have access to their worthless writings (pp. 183 ff.).

As a matter of fact, Dippel never was a follower of Spinoza; many of his writings (289, 304, 313, 320, 325, 326, 337) expressly denounce him.

1712

- 194 **Andala**, Ruardus. Dissertationum philosophicarum pentas. Cui adjecta est continuatio ephemeridum aeris atmosphaerici variationum a mense a. Julio. 1710 ad mensem Junium a. 1712. Franecker: Franciscus Halma, 1712. [10] l., 282 p., [5] l. 19 1/2 cm.

The first four of the dissertations by Ruardus Andala (186) examine the notions of substance, creation, efficient cause, and the union of mind and body as defined by Leibnitz, Geulincx and Deurhof. Those of Geulincx and Deurhof are

discredited by showing their similarity to Spinoza's concepts (preface, pp. 9, 16, 19, 21 f., 37, 40 f., 48 f., 66 f., 70 f., 75, 85, 101, 135 ff., 153 ff.).

- 195 **[Arpe, Peter Friedrich]**. Apologia pro Jul. Caesare Vanino Neapolitano. Cosmopolis [Rotterdam]: Typis Philaletheis, 1712. [2] l., 108 p. 18 cm.

Peter Friedrich Arpe (1682–1717) was professor of law at the University of Kiel. Courageous enough to write a vindication of Vanini, the Italian freethinker who in 1619 was burned at the stake, he is equally daring in berating Christian Kortholt for attacking Spinoza, Hobbes and Herbert of Cherbury in his book, *De tribus impostoribus* (39, 139).

- 196 **Blackmore**, Richard. Creation. A philosophical poem. In seven books. . . . London: S. Buckley and J. Tonson, 1712. 52 p., [1] l., 359 p. 21 1/2 cm.

Sir Richard Blackmore (c. 1650–1729), a physician in London and writer of verse, won great contemporary acclaim for this endless poem which aimed at presenting the philosophic views of Locke. "If he had written nothing else," wrote Addison, "[it would] have translated him to posterity as one of the first favourites of the English muse."

Both the preface (pp. xviii, xlv) and the poem (pp. 154–156) deal with Spinoza, "obscure, perplex, unintelligible author" and "his black design."

- 197 **Blackmore**, Richard. Creation. A philosophical poem. Demonstrating the existence and providence of God. In seven books. The second edition. . . . London: S. Buckley and J. Tonson, 1712. 52 p., [1] l., 359 p. 19 cm.

The second, more cheaply printed edition, of Blackmore's philosophical poem (196).

- 198 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. Système de reflexions qui peuvent contribuer à la netteté & l'étendue de nos connoissances: ou Nouvel essai de logique. . . . Amsterdam: François L'Honoré, 1712. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [17] l., 376 p.; frontispiece, [3] l., 291 p. 16 1/2 cm.

Jean Pierre de Crousaz (1663–1748), professor of mathematics and philosophy at Lausanne and Groningen, an eclectic popularizer, interspersed his *Logique* with many remarks on metaphysics and did not fail to point out his disdain for Spinoza and his followers (vol. 1, pp. 172 f., 374).

Crousaz also wrote a book, *An examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on man*, 1739 (369), to denounce Pope as a Spinozist. In his *Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien et moderne*, 1733 (324), he accused Bayle of atheism and immoralism.

An enlarged second edition of the *Système* appeared in 1720 (249).

- 199 **Foertsch**, Michael. *Controversiarum sacrarum recentiorum et nobiliorum nucleus & illustramenta*. Jena: Christian Polius, (1712). 15 p., [4] l., 176 p., [5] l. 20 ½ cm.

This collection of academic theses and disputations by Michael Foertsch (1654–1724), Lutheran theologian and professor at Tuebingen and Jena, discusses Spinoza's theory of prophecy (pp. 63–65); his views on divine inspiration (p. 68); his theory of causality (pp. 135 ff.); and Spinoza's concept of God and Nature (pp. 152–159, 161–163).

- 200 **Oudaan**, Joachim. *Poezy verdeeld in drie deelen . . . Achter het derde deel komt het Leven van den dichter, beschreven door den Heer David van Hoogstraten*. Amsterdam: P. Arentz and K. vander Sys, 1712. 3 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [6] l., 349, [3] p.; [1] l., 586 p. (vols. 2 and 3 have continuous pagination), 86 p., [2] l. 15 ½ cm.

The Dutch poet Joachim Oudaan (12), a member of the *Collegiant* sect, had contributed a poem to Adriaan Verwer's *'t Mom-Aensicht der Atheisterey*, a book denouncing Spinoza's *Ethica*, published in 1683 (47). The poem is contained in vol. 2, pp. 68 f. of this collection of Oudaan's poetic writings. It alludes to Spinoza's alleged, but never proven, homosexuality, and has been cited as evidence that during the French-Dutch war, after crossing the battle lines, Spinoza had travelled to Utrecht at the behest of the Prince of Condé.

Oudaan's biography by David van Hoogstraten in vol. 3 of *Poezy* speaks of the poet's father, Frans Joachim Oudaan, a *Collegiant*, and of other *Collegiants* of the circle to which Spinoza belonged during his stay in Rijnsburg.

Further references to Spinoza appear in vol. 1, p. 75 ("der doornige wysgerigheid") and vol. 2, p. 112.

- 201 **Pufendorf**, Samuel. *Le droit de la nature et des gens, ou systeme general des principes les plus importants de la morale, de la jurisprudence, et de la politique*. Traduit du latin . . . par Jean Barbeyrac . . . Avec des notes du traducteur . . . seconde edition, revûë & augmentée considerablement. Amsterdam: Pierre de Coup, 1712. 2 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 132 p., [2] l., 613 p.; [2] l., 506 p., [17] l., 28 p. 25 cm.

French translation by Jean Barbeyrac of Samuel Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* of 1684 (53).

1713

- 202 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Meditationes sacrae seu prolusionum festarum decas*. Jena: Mueller, (1713). 118, [2] p. 18 ½ cm.

The *Meditationes* by Johannes Franz Budde (156) contain, pp. 26–38, an essay against Frederic van Leenhof, the Spinozist, written in 1707, *Temperamentum laetitiae ac tristitiae contra Fridericum van Leenhoff*, and from the year 1709, *Veritas resurrectionis Christi contra impias quorundam, speciatim Benedicti de Spinoza, obiectiones asserta* (pp. 47–56).

- 203 **[Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe]**. *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la faible intelligence des plus simples*. Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1713. [8] l., 314 p., [11] l. 16 cm.

François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715), archbishop of Cambrai and the philosophical spokesman of the Church, was, of course, adamantly opposed to the teachings of Spinoza. The extract of his letter to Père Lami, the author of *Le nouvel athéisme*, 1696, appearing at the end of this book (114), testifies to his stand. But this first, or if one counts a surreptitious edition of 1712, this second, authorized edition of the *Démonstration*, does not contain any overt opposition to Spinoza. It was this neglect to refute the Spinozists which prompted Abbé René-Joseph Tournemine (1661–1739), famous Jesuit and editor of the *Mémoires de Trévoux* (a Jesuit periodical which had accused many a philosopher, among them Malebranche, of Spinozism) to write an anonymous preface (*Avertissement*) for the *Démonstration* and point out, after praising the author, that it had important "deficiencies." The *Démonstration* was written in the vein of Descartes and the Jesuits were afraid that the book would propagate the methods of Descartes, source of Spinoza, without mentioning the Spinozistic danger.

Fénelon, angered by the preface, asked for an apology and received one, of sorts, in November 1713. But after Fénelon's death, the preface by Père Tournemine, enlarged to a veritable refutation of Spinoza, appeared in many editions of the *Démonstration* (222, 254). Later a second part, containing a refutation of Spinoza, was added to form Fénelon's *Oeuvres philosophiques* (240, 254).

See also my notes on Fénelon, *Lettres*, 1718 (239).

- 204 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la faible intelligence des plus simples*. Amsterdam: François L'Honoré, 1713. [12] l., 279 p. 15 ½ cm.

Another issue, published in Amsterdam, of the 1713 edition of Fénelon's *Démonstration* (203).

- 205 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *A démonstration de l'existence, wisdom and omnipotence of God, drawn from the knowledge of nature, par-*

ticularly of man, and fitted to the meanest capacity... translated from the French, by... (A[bel] Boyer). London: W. Taylor and J. Baker, 1713. [8] l., 233, [7] p. 17 ½ cm.

English translation of Fénelon's *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu*, 1713 (203).

- 206 **Hayyun**, Nehemiah Hiyya. להכיר מהימנותא דכלא [הקדשים] עור לאלהים ובית קדש הקדשים. Berlin: Baruch Buchbinder, 1713. [3], 4, 88 l. 18 ½ cm.

Nehemiah Hiyya Hayyun (1650–about 1730) was a bizarre figure in the history of Jewish thought. A native of Safed, Palestine, he became a cabalist and follower of Sabbatai Zevi, the self-proclaimed Jewish Messiah. Wandering through Europe, Hayyun spent time in Italy, Bohemia, Germany, Holland and Turkey, issuing abstruse writings, finding rabbinic sponsors and losing them when it became known that other rabbinic authorities considered him an impostor. He died in Africa destitute and without friends.

Hayyun's *Oz l'Elohim* (Power of God), the only document of Sabbatian Cabalism ever printed (Scholem), developed the idea of a Trinity, utterly heretical in Jewish theology. L. Rosenthal in Roest, *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*, 1875, states (no. 1502 of *Yodeah sefer*) that obviously Hayyun had read extensively in Spinoza's books and used their nonsense in his work. However, this is a very dubious assumption.

- 207 **Hecking**, Gottfried. Exercitatio theologica de usu mysteriorum fidei in praxi vitae Christianae. ... Jena: Mueller, 1713. [2] l., 44 p. 20 cm.

Hecking's dissertation, sponsored by Johannes Franz Budde (156), quotes Spinoza as an example of those modern, impious and profane thinkers who bitterly attack those who acknowledge mysteries in the Scriptures (p. 16).

- 208 **Loescher**, Valentin Ernst. Praenotiones theologicae contra naturalistarum & fanaticorum omne genus, atheos, deistas, indifferentistas, anti-scripturarios, &c. ... Editio secunda emendata & aucta. Wittenberg: Johann Ludwig Meisel, 1713. [8] l., 383, [12] p. 17 cm.

Valentin Ernst Loescher (1673–1749), professor at the university in Wittenberg and pastor in Dresden, was an orthodox Lutheran battling against Pietism and the philosophy of Christian Wolff. His refutation of the naturalists in general and of Spinoza in particular reveals considerably more philosophic understanding than his fellow-theologians show. He sees Spinoza's system in context, comes pleasantly close to an understanding of his adversary's motivation, and delineates correctly the positions of Spinoza's followers (pp. 12 ff., 30 ff., 37 f., 40 ff., 44, 47, 49 ff., 59, 63 f., 69, 73, 85, 89 ff., 98 ff., 103, 111, 115, 173, 212 ff., 225 ff., 307, 323, 342).

- 209 **[Philippus]**, Jenkin Thomas. Historia atheismi, breviter delineata, a Jenkino Thomasio Cambro Britanno. Cui accedit Samuelis Clark tractatus eximius De existentia et attributis Dei, contra Spinosam atque Hobbesium, Anglice conscriptus, jam autem Latine redditus. Cum praefatione Christiani Gotlib Schwarzii. ... Altdorf: Jod. Wilhelm Kohle, 1713. [5] l., 286 p., [2], [8] l., 174 p. 17 ½ cm.

Jenkin Thomasius is the pen name of Jenkin Thomas Philipps, an English linguist and translator (d. 1755). His history of atheism presents facts and evaluation in relatively objective fashion and thus his account of Spinoza's life and works (pp. 227–241) lacks the invective so common in the writings of his contemporaries. He also discusses Matthias Knutzen, the Spinozising atheist, and reprints one of his pamphlets (pp. 245–249); see my notes on Musaeus, *Ableinung*, 1674 (19).

The history of atheism is followed by a Latin translation of Samuel Clarke's *Demonstration of the being and attributes of God, more particularly in answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, and their followers* (189).

- 210 **Rencontre** de Bayle et de Spinoza dans l'autre monde. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1713. 72 p. 13 ½ cm.

This little anonymous book whose author remains unknown is one of the strangest products of the Spinoza literature. Eighteenth century bibliographers already list it as *rarissimum*; in our days Vernière calls it *introuvable*. The Library of Congress possesses a copy printed in 1711. Printed under the cover of the Marteau imprint, the book has a political message. Its author is a pacifist. Spinoza and Bayle are dear to him because they are men of peace and both unite at the end of the book to praise Erasmus, preacher of peace.

In the first two *rencontres*, making up the larger part of the book, Spinoza and Bayle, souls in the other world who have shed their bodies and are therefore more enlightened than they were on earth, interview one another about their lives and their writings. Spinoza's autobiographical revelations are mostly a repetition of Colerus' account (157). When the facts differ it is because the author misread Colerus. The unprejudiced tolerance which he shows towards Spinoza and Bayle and his attempt to understand their teachings is genuine.

- 211 **Zweyer** guten Freunde vertrauter Brief-Wechsel vom Wesen der Seelen ... Sammt eines Anonymi lustigen Vorrede. The Hague: Peter von der Aa, [Leipzig or. Jena], 1713. 94 p. 16 ½ cm.

The authorship of this little rare book is not certain. According to Weller, *Woerterbuch der Pseudonymen*, its authors are J. C. Westphal (d. 1722), a physician at Delitzsch, and J. D. Hocheisel (or Hocheisen) (1677–1712), an adjunct

in philosophy at the university of Wittenberg. An old inscription in my copy ascribes the authorship to J. B. Roeschel (1652–1712), a German theologian and physicist, and Hocheisel. Others name the physician Urban Gottfried Bucher (b. 1679).

The *Brief-Wechsel* is an important document of early 18th century German materialism. It denies the existence of a non-material soul and explains rational knowledge and will as mere sensations. In this context Spinoza and Frederik van Leenhof, the Spinozist, are briefly discussed as representatives of materialistic atheism (pp. 42, 50, 76).

1714

- 212 **Bayle**, Pierre. *Lettres choisies de Mr. Bayle, avec des remarques*. Rotterdam: Fritsch et Boehm, 1714. 3 vols. 48, 966 p. (continual pagination), [150] l. 15 ½ cm.

The letters of Pierre Bayle offer not only interesting bibliographic data on Spinoza and literature dealing with him, they also present important information on Bayle's attitude towards Spinoza.

Bayle, especially on account of the Spinoza article in his *Dictionnaire* (117, 120), had become part of the Spinoza controversy; thus the justification by Bayle of the stand he took and his kind of interpretation of Spinoza are particularly illuminating (vol. 2, pp. 779–785).

The index in vol. 3 provides under "Spinoza" a list of all pertinent references.

- 213 **Bril**, Jacob. *Die preiss-wuerdige Freyheit, worinnen kuertzlich angewiesen wird, dass die Freyheit, womit Gott durch seinen Sohn in dem Geiste frey machet diejenige, die sich der Leitung seines guten Geistes ueberlassen, nicht veraecht-lich, sondern lobwuerdig ist*. Vormal Anno 1699 von dem besondern Gottes-Gelehrten Jacob Brill in hollaendischer Sprache geschrieben, nun aber, dem unpartheyischen teutschen Leser zu Nutze, ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt durch L.O.S. Amsterdam: Hinrich Betkio, 1714. 72 p. 17 cm.

A German translation of *De pryswaardige vryheid*, 1699, by Jacob Bril (183). Bril's terminology and approach have no similarity whatever to Spinoza's *Ethica*, yet his concept of freedom is clearly derived from Spinoza.

- 214 **Bril**, Jacob. *Ein freyer Mensch und Geist, der wahrhaftig frey gemacht ist von dem Vater durch den Sohn in dem Geiste; kuertzlich fuergestellet in seinem Wandel durch die Wuesten dieser Welt, als unbekandt, und frembd seyend; doch unverdrossen seinen Weg beschleunigend nach dem ewigen Vaterlande ... Vormal Anno 1699, von dem besondern Gottes-Gelehrten Jacob Brill, in*

hollaendischer Sprache geschrieben, nun aber, um seiner Nutzbarkeit willen, ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt durch L.O.S. Amsterdam: Hinrich Betkio, 1714. 32 p. 17 cm.

Another treatise on freedom (*Een vrij mensch*) by Jacob Bril (183, 213, 215).

The same book appeared in a different translation in 1715 (220).

- 215 **Bril**, Jacob. *Gruenendes Klee-blat aus J. Brills Schrifften; in sich haltend und darbietende Die Gemueths-Ruhe: Das liebliche und angenehme Leben: und Die preisswuerdige Freyheit: denen, die im neuen Leben des Geistes zu gruenen begehren, zur Erquickung und Aufmunterung mitgetheilet*. N.p., 1714. 160 p. 15 cm.

A German translation of three works, *De gemoedsrust*, *Het genoegelijk en vermakelijk leven*, and *De pryswaardige vryheid*, from the posthumous collection of Jacob Bril's works, published in Amsterdam, 1705 (183).

The translation of *Die preiss-wuerdige Freyheit* is different from that of the separate edition which appeared in the same year (213). Another edition of this entire collection appeared in 1724 (269).

- 216 **Regius**, Johannes. *De beginselen der beschouwende filozofy, uit de latynsche tale overgezet, en merkelyk vermeerderd: waar by gevoegt zyn, i. Kartesius Spinoza voorlichtende, ii. Den omgestooten ongodist, iii. De reden in haar redelykheit*. Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1714. [32] l., 462 p., [4] l. 20 cm.

Johannes Regius (1656–1738), professor of philosophy at the University of Franeker, was one of the main figures in the anti-Cartesian movement at that university. His principal theme, reiterated over and over again, was that Descartes was the forerunner of Spinoza and that all of Spinoza's ideas were contained in Descartes. This is the theme, too, of the addendum to the *Beginselen*, entitled "Kartesium Spinoza voorlichtende, etc.," that is, "Cartesium carrying the light for Spinoza, or, A short treatise, presenting through unshakeable arguments that the philosophy of Cartesium has hidden in it the grounds on which that of Spinoza is built" (pp. 321–353). This is followed, pp. 355–384, by "Den omgestooten ongodist," etc., that is, "The overthrown atheist or clear proof that the godless system of Spinoza rests on only two false premises and that once these are taken away it must collapse by itself." See also the second to last page of the *Voorrede* where Regius declares that the disciples of Cartesian professors are bound to become Spinozists.

"Kartesium Spinoza voorlichtende" led to a drawn-out hard-hitting controversy. Ruardus Andala (186), a colleague of Regius at the University of Franeker, but a Cartesian who denied any essential similarity between Descartes and

Spinoza, attacked Regius' treatise in his *Alloquium*, 1719; Regius in the same year elaborated on it in *Cartesius versus Spinozismi architectus*; Andala came back with *Disputatio physica qua representatur Cartesius versus Spinozismi eversor* in 1719; and after Regius published a new edition of his *Cartesius versus Spinozismi architectus* in 1723, Andala responded in 1724 with his *Thrasionismus depulsus et retortus*.

Because of the rarity of all these books and due to the fact that early writers sometimes confused Regius with other writers by this or similar names, reports on the controversy are usually faulty.

- 217 **St. Evremond**, Charles de. The works of Monsieur de St. Evremond, made English from the French original. With The author's life, by Mr. Des Maizeaux. To which are added, The memoirs of the Dutchess of Mazarin, written in her name by the Abbot St. Real, &c. London: J. Churchill, etc., 1714. 3 vols. Portrait, 64 p., [2] l., 368 p.; portrait, [1] l., 451, 7 p.; frontispiece, [2] l., 156 p., portrait, 208 p. 19 ½ cm.

The first English edition of St. Evremond's works; see my notes on Des Maizeaux, *La vie de St. Evremond*, 1709 (175).

The account of the meeting between Spinoza and St. Evremond is found in *The life of Monsieur de St. Evremond*, p. LV (contained, with separate title page, in vol. 3); mention of Spinoza is made by St. Evremond, vol. 2, pp. 122 f.

See also my notes on edition of 1728 (302).

- 218 **Tuinman**, Carolus. De heillooze gruwelleere der vrygeesten; in haar grond en tzamenschakeling, uit derzelver schriften aangewezen, ont-maskert, en wederlegt . . . Hier by is een Wederandwoord op den lasterbrief van den vermomden Theophilus, enz. En noch de uitspraak des E. Kerkenraads van Middelburg, over M. Booms. Een plakaat van hun Ed. Mog. de Heeren Staaten van Zeeland, betreffende de vrygeesten, en derzelver boeken. Het vonnis door der Ed. Achth. Magistraat van Middelburg over verscheide zulker boeken gevelt, en uitgevoert. Middelburg: Willeboord Eling, 1714. [8], (240) p. 15 cm.

Carolus Tuinman (1659–1728), a preacher, poet and linguist in Middelburg, Holland, made it his specialty to write books and pamphlets against the Hattemists, a Dutch Spinozistic sect. The first part of *De heillooze gruwelleere* attacks recent and contemporary Spinozists, the leader of the sect, Pontiaan van Hattem (112), and Jacob Brill (183), and Frederik van Leenhof (159). Tuinman lists those tenets of Spinoza which the Hattemists had adopted (pp. 3–92), then proceeds to refute their specific borrowings and adaptations (pp. 92–108), and finishes with a general refutation of Spinoza (pp. 109 ff.). The *Wederandwoord* (pp. 135–214) is Tuinman's rebuttal of an anonymous work,

Brief van Theophilus, published in 1713, which had defended van Hattem and Gosuinus van Buitendijk (256) against their condemnation by the church and civil authorities. Tuinman shows in quote after quote from Spinoza's works that these men as well as Marinus Booms, another Hattemist, are Spinozists. *De heillooze gruwelleere* concludes (pp. 215–240) with reprints of the excommunication by the church council of Middelburg of Booms, who was found guilty of "horrible Spinozistic and Hattemistic errors," an ordinance of the States of Zeeland, and an order by the magistrate of Middelburg concerning the burning of the heretic books "filled with sacrilegious opinions of the current Spinozists."

- 219 **Schudt**, Johann Jacob. Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten vorstellende was sich Curieuses und Denckwuerdiges in den neuern Zeiten bey einigen Jahrhunderten mit denen in alle iv. Theile der Welt, sonderlich durch Teutschland, zerstreuten Juden zugetragen. Samt einer vollstaendigen Franckfurter Juden-Chronick. . . . Frankfurt und Leipzig: Samuel Tobias Hocker, etc., 1714–1718. 4 vols. Portrait, [11] l., 582 p., [1] l.; [4] l., 432, 383, [59] p.; [4] l., 358, [1] p.; [16] l., 320, 447, [1], 192 p., [19] l., 48, [1] p.; plates. 20 ½ cm.

Johann Jacob Schudt (1664–1722), rector of the Gymnasium in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, showed a life-long interest in and wrote extensively about the history and language of the Jews. Though anti-Semitic and motivated by missionary zeal, he collected valuable materials, particularly on the history of the Frankfurt Jews.

In the chapter on the Jews of Amsterdam, Schudt summarizes what he could find about Spinoza in older literature (vol. 1, pp. 313–315) and supplements this report with an account, quoted on the authority of a professor in Wittenberg, of a visit by Spinoza to a Christian church (vol. 2, second part, p. 95).

1715

- 220 **Bril**, Jacob. Ein freyer Mensch im Geist, der warhafftig frey gemacht ist von dem Vater, durch den Sohn, in dem Geist, in seinem Wandel durch die Wuesten dieser Welt, als der da unbekandt und fremd ist, doch unverdruesslich seinen Weg eilends fortsetzet nach dem ewigen Vatterland, . . . den 30. Oct. ao. 1699. in Niederlaendischer Sprache geschrieben von Jacob Brill, nun aber ins Hoch-teutsche uebersetzt, und mit einer kurtzen Vorrede zum Drucke befoerdert, welchem auch dessen Glaubens-Bekaenntnuess, das eine gruendliche Anweisung zur Uebung in der Selbst-Erkaenntnuess giebt, nochmahls mit beygefügget ist. N. p., 1715. 88 p. 18 ½ cm.

Another German translation of *Een vrij mensch*, a treatise on freedom by Jacob Bril (183) different from the one which appeared in 1714 (214).

Added in this edition is a translation of Bril's *Credo* (*Geloofs bekentenis*) (pp.37–88) based on a concept of God "who is All in All in Himself."

- 221 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Dissertationum theologicarum syntagma accedunt praeter alia, orationes quaedam, atque programmata*. Jena: Johannes Felix Bielke, 1715. [18] l., 753, [23] p. 20 cm.

In his "program," *De origine gentis ebraeae contra Ioan. Tolandum*, Budde (156) polemicizes against John Toland's theory, propounded in his *Origines judaicae* appended to *Adeisidaemon*, 1709 (178), that Moses was a Spinozist (pp.716 ff.).

- 222 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de la connoissance de la nature, & proportionnée à la foible intelligence des plus simples . . . Quatrième édition*. Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Châtelain, 1715. 40 p. (including portrait), [4] l., 291, [12] p. 16 cm.

This fourth edition of Fénelon's *Démonstration* is the first to contain (pp.v–xl) the expanded preface by Père Tournemine, the Jesuit, whose influential order felt that the book was too gentle on the question of Cartesianism and, implicitly, Spinozism and that it therefore required an unequivocal expression of where the Church stood. Tournemine, who had provided a rather vague clarification in 1713 while Fénelon was still alive (203), went to work immediately upon Fénelon's death in 1715 and spelled out why the teachings of Descartes and Spinoza were unacceptable.

His preface, which was to accompany all future editions of the *Démonstration*, states that from Fénelon's presentation it should not be concluded that he was a follower of Descartes. Tournemine asserts that Spinoza's system follows from the arguments of Descartes and his concepts of necessity and causality present a direct denial of providence.

- 223 **[Flournois, Gédéon]**. *Les entretiens des voyageurs sur la mer*. Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1715. 4 vols. 352 p.; 472 p.; 335 p.; 324 p.; engravings. 15 ½ cm.

Gédéon Flournois, a Reformed clergyman of Geneva, Switzerland (who died in the early 18th century), wrote the *Entretiens* in 1682. The work was first published in 1683. An unknown editor corrected and augmented it to four volumes in 1704; the edition of 1715 is based on the second edition.

The book consists of twenty-four discussions on philosophy and religious matters held by a group of people during a sea voyage. It contains accounts of the abuses of power committed by the Jesuits in connection with the revocation of the edict of Nantes and is generally in text and pictures strongly

anti-clerical. It deals with the persecution in France of books and the futility of burning them and was itself condemned and forbidden. Flournois laments the prohibition of books by Protestants while many individuals owned books by Spinoza and were not bothered or prosecuted by the authorities (vol.1, pp.15–16).

- 224 **Limborch**, Philipp van. *Theologia christiana ad praxin pietatis ac promotionem pacis christianae unice directa*. Editio quarta, ab auctore recognita & aucta. Accedit novae huic editioni Relatio historica de origine & progressu contro-versiarum in Foederatio Belgio de praedestinatione. Tractatus postumus. Amsterdam: Rodolph & Gerhard Wetsteen, 1715. Portrait, [14] l., 866, 31, [24] p. 32 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of this work, 1686 (64), and on Limborch's *Defensio contra Ioannis van der Wayen*, 1699 (124).

Jean Le Clerc's funeral oration on the author with which this edition opens (pp.94 f.) records the controversy which arose from Limborch's assertion that Franz Burmann had copied from Spinoza (7, 64).

- 225 **Aemilius**, Robbertus. *Het licht der waerheit, doorstraelende in de leere der Hervormde Kerke, in tegenstellinge van de duisternisze der onweetenheit en dwaelingen der geenene die buiten dezelve zyn. Voorgesteld ende beweert uit Godts woort, en de gezonde reden, tot bevesting van het allerheiligste geloof. (Alsmede een Kort ontwerp van het zelve.)* Leiden: Hendrik van Damme, 1722; 1715 (vol.2), 1716 (vols.3 and [4]); 1720 (Kort ontwerp). 5 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [22] l., 634 p., [3] l., 47 p.; frontispiece, [2] l., 640 p., [2] l., 38 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., p.1–612, [1] l., 40 p.; [1] l., p.613–1244, 46 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., 560 p. 15 ½ cm.

Robbertus Aemilius (1663–1729), a theologian in Leiden who was strongly influenced by Christoph Wittich, the Cartesian, produced these laborious, catechism-like volumes to contrast the teachings of the Reformed Church and the principal current heresies. Spinoza's main doctrines are routinely listed and rejected (vol.1, pp.30–40, 360–363; vol.2, pp.31–48, 366; Kort ontwerp p.99).

- 226 **Loescher**, Valentin Ernst. *Theologische Annales, das erste Decennium des 18. Seculi* (vol. [2]: das andere Decennium des xviii. Seculi), oder Begriff der Unschuldigen Nachrichten von theologischen Sachen von Anno 1701. biss 1710. (vol. [2]: 1711. bis 1720.) nebst darzu gehoerigen Supplementis, Vertheidigung und Verbesserungen . . . der Unschuldigen Nachrichten. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Braun, 1715–1725. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [15] l., 919 p.; frontispiece, [3] l., 760 p. 16 ½ cm.

Valentin Ernst Loescher (208) was the editor of *Unschuldige Nachrichten von theologischen Sachen*, a periodical critically reviewing theological and philosophic books, particularly atheistic and naturalistic literature. The *Annales* summarize the contents of the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, supplement it with new reviews and defend it against its detractors. It refers to contemporary Spinozistic movements and literature (vol. [1], pp. 146, 191, 313, 605 f., 626 f., 653; vol. [2], p. 669, 677).

- 227 **Gundling**, Nicolaus Hieronymus. *Gundlingiana*, darinnen allerhand zur Jurisprudenz, Philosophie, Historie, Critic, Litteratur, und uebrigen Gelehrsamkeit gehoerige Sachen abgehandelt werden. Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1715–1732. 45 parts (part 1 with portrait). 17 cm.

Nicolaus Hieronymus Gundling (1671–1729) was professor of philosophy and natural and international law at the University of Halle and, in the tradition of his teacher, Christian Thomasius, was a journalistically inclined popularizer. His eclectic character is apparent in his *Gundlingiana*, a collection of his treatises and book reviews in many fields which appeared irregularly over seventeen years.

Part 5, 1716, “Ob wegen der anwachsenden Macht der Nachbarn man den Degen entbloessen koenne?” contains a discussion of Spinoza’s concept of *af-fectus fortior* (pp. 391 ff.).

Part 15, 1717, “Gedanken ueber Parmenidis Philosophie” finds Parmenides’ and Spinoza’s concepts of God similar (pp. 405 ff.).

Part 22, 1719, “Erste Reflexion ueber Herrn D. Trillers Hippocratem atheismi falso accusatum” defends Gundling’s assertion that Hippocrates was an atheist and discusses in this connection Spinoza’s atheism (pp. 89 f., 102–105, 112, 167, 185).

Part 23, 1719, “Andere Reflexion ueber Herrn D. Trillers Hippocratem atheismi falso accusatum” quotes Triller, who holds that Spinoza is no real atheist (pp. 241 ff., see also p. 259).

Three essays on Plato’s atheism compare it with that of Spinoza: part 32, 1724, “Von Platonis Atheisterey” (pp. 108 f.); part 43, 1729, “Velitatio prior de atheismo Platonis cui occasionem dedit J. Zimmermannus” (pp. 189 ff., 213, 217, 222, 230 f., 234–260, 268 ff., 279 f.); part 44, 1729, “Velitatio posterior de atheismo Platonis” (pp. 316, 324 ff., 354, 357–361).

- 228 **Wolf**, Johann Christoph. *Bibliotheca hebraea, sive notitia tum auctorum hebr. cujuscunque aetatis, tum scriptorum, quae vel hebraice primum exarata vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram aetatem deducta*. Accedit in calce Jacobi Gaffarelli Index codicum cabalist. mss. quibus Jo. Picus, Mirandulanus Comes,

usus est. (Vol. 2: . . . quae praeter historiam Scripturae Sacrae veteris instrumenti, codicumque eius tum editorum tum mss. tradit notitiam Masorae, eorumque, quae ad lexica et grammaticas pertinent, Talmudis item utriusque, tum vero bibliothecam iudaicam et antiudaicam aperit, ac post enarratas paraphrases chaldaicas et cabbalam, scripta Judaeorum anonyma recenset. Vol. 3: . . . complectens accessiones et emendationes, ad volumen primum totum, et partem secundi, quoad de scriptis anonymis exponit, pertinentes . . . Vol. 4: . . . complectens accessiones et emendationes imprimis ad volumen secundum tum vero ad totum opus pertinentes una cum indicibus auctorum et rerum . . .) Hamburg & Leipzig: Christian Liebezeit (vol. 1); Hamburg: Theodor Christoph Felginer (vols. 2–4), 1715–1733. 4 vols. Frontispiece, [3] l., 1161, 36, 24 p.; portrait, [5] l., 1484 p.; [4] l., 1226 p., [30] l.; portrait, [6] l., 1226 p., [36] l. 20 ½ cm.

Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739), orientalist and bibliographer in Hamburg, had originally planned the *Bibliotheca hebraea* merely as a supplement to Bartolocci’s *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*. However, since he had access to David Oppenheimer’s vast collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts (now in the Bodleian Library), it grew into a monumental, richly annotated bibliography of Hebrew and related books, an indispensable tool for Hebraic and Judaic scholarship until the middle of the 19th century when Moritz Steinschneider’s catalogues appeared.

Spinoza’s works and Spinoza literature, printed and in manuscript, are recorded in vol. 1, pp. 239–242, vol. 3, pp. 145 f., and vol. 4, pp. 795–797; the question of whether the Cabalists are atheists and Spinozists is discussed in vol. 2, pp. 1235 f.

1716

- 229 **Clarke**, Samuel. A discourse concerning being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons preach’d at the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704 and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The fourth edition, corrected. There are added in this edition, Several letters to Dr Clarke from a gentleman in Gloucestershire [J. Butler], relating to the first volume; with the Drs answers. London: James Knapton, 1716. [16] l., 135 p., [12] l., 344, 42 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189). The addition, *Several letters*, is the second edition (of 1719) of that collection.

- 230 **Fabricius**, Johann Albert. *Bibliographia antiquaria, sive Introductio in noti-tiam scriptorum, qui antiquitates hebraicas, graecas, romanas et christianas scriptis illustraverunt. Editio secunda, auctor. . .* Hamburg und Leipzig: Christian Liebezeit, 1716. Frontispiece, [7] l., 664 p., [32] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), a German classical scholar, was one of the most productive bibliographers of his time; he is credited with more than one hundred books. The *Bibliographia antiquaria*, pp. 236 f., deals with Spinoza as an example of a philosopher who confused God with the nature of things.

1717

- 231 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Theses theologicae de atheismo et superstitione variis observationibus illustratae et in usum recitationum academicarum editae.* Jena: Johann Felix Bielck, 1717. [24] l., 816 p., [32] l. 17 cm.

Johannes Franz Budde (156) relies in his discussion of Spinoza in this history of atheism mainly on Poiret, Bayle and Kortholt. Once more he takes up the subject of Spinozism before Spinoza (pp. 12–16) to which he had devoted a special dissertation in the *Analecta* (156); Spinoza himself is discussed on pp. 163–179 as *atheorum nostra aetate princeps*; and Spinozism on pp. 495–510.

- 232 **Clarke**, Samuel. *De l'existence et des attributs de Dieu: des devoirs de la religion naturelle, et de la verité de la religion chrétienne. Traitez qui sont le precis de xvi. sermons prononcez à Londres pour la lecture fondée par M. Boyle . . . Traduits de l'Anglois par M. Ricotier.* Amsterdam: Jean Frederic Bernard, 1717. 2 vols. 32 p., [12] l., 251 p.; [8] l., 424 p. 15 cm.

French translation of Samuel Clarke's *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God* (189).

The French translation also includes the translation of an exchange of letters between the author and an anonymous critic, J. Butler (229).

- 233 **[Durand, David]**. *La vie et les sentimens de Lucilio Vanini.* Rotterdam: Aux depens de Gaspar Fritsch, 1717. 32, 260 p., [3] l. 15 1/2 cm.

David Durand (1680–1763), French protestant minister, became a refugee, served in the Spanish war, narrowly escaped death and made his way to Rotterdam. There he became a friend of Bayle. Later he served as minister of the French church in London.

This biography of Lucilio Vanini, the Italian freethinker who was burned at the stake, serves a twofold purpose. It attempts to exonerate Durand as well as his subject from the accusation of heresy. According to Durand, Vanini is

related to Spinoza: both are unintelligible (p. 79); Vanini treats the problem of the origin of evil like Spinoza (summary of chapter xxix in table of contents); his materialism is Spinozistic (pp. 120 f.); Spinoza who liked to pass for a Cartesian (p. 176) used Vanini as a source.

- 234 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtuiging van ongodisten en ongelovigen aangetoont . . .* Den tweeden druk. Amsterdam: Wed. J. Wolters, en J. Pauli, 1717. [1] l., frontispiece, [1] l., portrait, [5] l., 916 p., [9] l. 28 plates. 24 1/2 cm.

Bernard Nieuwentyt (1654–1700), Dutch physician, mathematician and natural scientist, designed his work, which is important also for its physical, chemical and medical presentations, as a demonstration for skeptics and atheists that the teleological perfection of the world is irrefutable proof of God. The *Voor-berigt*, pp. 6 f., contains a report on the peaceful death of Spinoza and the concern this fact caused some pious people. A refutation of Spinoza's system appears on pp. 9 f.

Nieuwentyt is also the author of a book entirely devoted to a refutation of Spinoza's method and system, entitled *Gronden van zekerheid*, 1720 (250).

- 235 **Pufendorf**, Samuel. *Of the law of nature and nations . . .* Written in Latin . . . Done into English by Basil Kennet . . . The third edition: carefully corrected . . . To which are now added all the large notes of Mr. Barbeyrac, translated from his last edition; printed at Amsterdam, in 1712. London: Printed for R. Sare, R. Bonwicke, etc., 1717. [12] l., 212, 577, [131] p., [11] l. 34 cm.

English translation of Pufendorf's *De jure naturae et gentium* (53).

- 236 **Reimmann**, Jacob Friderich. *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historie der Theologie insgemein und der juedischen Theologie insbesondere; nahmentlich der juedischen theologiae theticae, polemicae, metaphrasticae, exegeticae, homileticae, ethicae, asceticae, liturgicae, masorethicae, talmudicae, cabalisticae, karaiticae, samaritanae, atheisticae. . .* Magdeburg und Leipzig: Christoph Seidel, 1717. Frontispiece, [12] l., 807, [79] p. 17 cm.

Jacob Friderich Reimmann (1668–1743) combines in his books the knowledge of the polyhistor with the narrow-minded prejudices of the orthodox pastor. The history of Jewish atheism, contained in his *Versuch* (pp. 567 ff.), deals in detail with Spinoza and his "cabalistic atheism" (pp. 632–648), asserts that modern Jews are Spinozists (pp. 648 ff.) and that the Jewish Cabala is Spinozistic and atheistic (pp. 604 ff., 628 ff.). For other, more casual, mentions of Spinoza see *Index authorum*.

1718

- 237 **Blackmore**, Richard. *Creation*, A philosophical poem, demonstrating the existence and providence of a God . . . The fourth edition. . . London: A. Bettesworth and J. Pemberton, 1718. [1] l., 66 p., [2] l., 237, [3] p. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1712 (196).

- 238 **C[olliber]**, S[amuel]. *An impartial enquiry into the existence of nature and God: being a modest essay towards a more intelligible account of the divine perfections. With remarks on several authors both ancient and modern; and particularly on some passages in Dr. Clarke's Demonstration of the being and attributes of God . . . With an appendix concerning the nature of space and duration.* London: Printed; and sold by the booksellers, 1718. 230 p. 17 cm.

Nothing biographical is known about Samuel Collier, who alludes to himself in the preface of this book as a layman, except the titles of his writings. He is the author of a naval history and of what the *English Dictionary of National Biography* calls "pantheistic tracts" (*Free thoughts concerning souls*, 1734; and *The known God, or the author of Nature unveiled*, 1737).

The *Impartial enquiry*, however, is not a pantheistic book, quite the contrary. Robert Boyle and Samuel Clarke are mentioned with approval and Spinoza's amply cited views (pp. 72 f., 84 f., 134 f., 153, 156, 168, 179, 198 f., 202, 218) are consistently disproved though never viciously attacked.

- 239 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Lettres sur divers sujets concernant la religion et la métaphysique.* Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1718. [12] l., 278 p. 16 ½ cm.

These letters, or rather letter essays, by Fénelon (203) were published posthumously by his nephew. In the first letter, referring to a preface he had not yet seen (the one to his *Démonstration* by Abbé Tournemine), Fénelon asserts that it is not difficult to overthrow Spinoza's system. His followers are liars, not philosophers; the libertines of the age are not truly disciples of Spinoza, but men who relate their concept of free will to the principle of pleasure (pp. 3–6).

- 240 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Oeuvres philosophiques. Seconde partie: Demonstration de l'existence de Dieu, et de ses attributs, tirée des preuves purement intellectuelles, et de l'idée de l'infini mesme. . . .* Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1718. [5] l., p. [5]–210, [4] l. 15 ½ cm.

This second part of Fénelon's *Démonstration* — such is the designation of the volume on the half title — was in no way designed by the author as a contin-

uation or conclusion of his book published in 1713 (203). Since many of his *confreres* in the Church were not satisfied with its less than forceful stand against Spinozism and other deviations from the Catholic dogma, this second volume — which, according to André-Michel de Ramsay's (264) anonymous preface is an outline of a work which Fénelon had undertaken in his youth and never completed — was added after the author's death. Its second chapter (pp. 92–210) is called "Refutation of Spinozism;" it is interesting, however, to note that Spinoza's name is never mentioned.

See also my notes on Fénelon, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1721 (254).

- 241 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Otium Hanoveranum sive Miscellanea, ex ore & schedis illustris viri, piae memoriae, Godofr. Guilielmi Leibnitii . . . quondam notata & descripta, cum ipsi in colligendis & excerpendis rebus ad historiam Brunsvicensis pertinentibus operam navaret, Joachimus Fridericus Fellerus . . . Additae sunt coronidis loco epistolae gallicae amoebae Leibnitii & Pelissonii de tolerantia religionum & de controversiis quibusdam theologicis, jam pridem editae, nunc recusae. Quibus praemisum est supplementum vitae Leibnitianae.* Leipzig: Johannes Christian Martin, 1718. Portrait, [14] l., 441, [24] p. 16 ½ cm.

Otium Hanoveranum contains miscellaneous writings by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646–1716), the German philosopher and diplomat, and views on various subjects which Joachim Friedrich Feller, who had been Leibnitz's secretary from 1696 to 1698, had heard from him. Among them is a description of Spinoza's Spanish looks and his occupation as lens grinder (pp. 221 ff.); a note on Spinoza's noble reasons for burning some of his uncompleted writings (p. 178); and Leibnitz's letter to Nicaise referring to the relation between Spinoza and Descartes (pp. 82 ff.).

- 242 **Grapo** [Grapius], Zacharias. *Theologia recens controversa. Prout ab ipso b. auctore iam ante in iv. partes divisa fuit, in inchoatam, continuatam, absolutam et christologiam.* Editio novissima. . . . Leipzig und Rostock: Johannes Bernhard Hartung, 1719 (parts 1, 2 and 3); 1718 (part 4). 4 vols. [1] l., 190 p.; [1] l., 206 p.; [1] l., 126 p.; [1] l., 64 p., [14] l. 20 ½ cm.

Zacharias Grapo (Grapius) (1671–1713), professor of theology at Rostock, provides in this collection of his academic disputations a wealth of information on philosophic and theological controversies of the time involving Spinoza's and his followers' teachings. Prominently discussed are such concepts of Spinoza as God as substance and immanent cause (part 1, pp. 50–62); God as the *ineffabile* (pp. 62 f.); God as *cogitatio* and *extensio* (pp. 66–73); *creatio ex nihilo* (part 2, pp. 9–15); providence (pp. 34–39); miracles (pp. 56–58); angels (pp. 65 f.); faith and love (part 3, p. 107); resurrection (part 4, pp. 63 f.).

1719

- 243 **Bril**, Jacob. Der Weg des Friedens, wie auch Das freye Leben, und Die freye Dienstbarkeit, in dreyen besonderen Tractaetlein angewiesen . . . Aus dem Niederlaendischen ins Teutsche uebersetzt. N. p., 1719. [2] l., 348 p. 16 ½ cm.

A collection of German translations of three treatises by Jacob Bril (183), namely *De weg des vredes*, *He vrije leven*, and *De pryswaardige vryheid*. The translation of the first treatise is identical with that appended to the *Theosophia pneumatica*, 1710 (183).

Bril's publications were prohibited literature (259); in my copy the name of the author was concealed by pasting a strip of black paper over it.

- 244 **Caspari**, Johann Michael. Universalista in theologia naturali planeta, fide vanus, cultu profanus, cujus Meditationes, de Deo, mundo, homine. Scrutinio logico-theologico expensas, sub praesidio Dn. Io. Conradi Arnoldi, Philos. & Ss. Theol. Doct. primae vero & rationalis Philosophiae Prof. P. Ord. solenni disquisitioni academicae porro examinandas proponit, Ioan. Michael Caspari. Giessen: Johann Mueller, (1719). [4] l., 52 p. 19 cm.

This dissertation by Johannes Michael Caspari, presented under the auspices of Johann Conrad Arnold, professor of philosophy at the University of Giessen, presents a detailed analysis of Theodor Ludwig Lan's *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo et homine*, anonymously published in 1717 (246, 602).

Caspari strongly stresses that Lau's God is the "En Spinozismus," the pantheistic unity of God and world as one substance.

- 245 **Hollebeek**, Petrus. Disputatio metaphysica de cogitatione, ipsa mente. Quam . . . sub praesidio . . . Jacobi Wittichii . . . publico examini subjicit Petrus Hollebeek, . . . auctor. . . . Leiden: Peter vander Aa, 1719. [2] l., 19, [3] p. 18 cm.

Jacob Wittich, who was often confused with his uncle, Christoph Wittich, the author of *Anti-Spinoza*, 1690 (83), had written in 1711 a dissertation *De natura Dei contra Spinozam* which his adversaries had denounced as Spinozistic. The dissertation of his student, Petrus Hollebeek, refers in the concluding Dutch poem to Wittich's *De natura Dei* and the controversy following it and pictures Wittich as opposed to the horrible teachings of the Spinozists.

- 246 **Nachricht** von Franckfurth am Mayn vom 30. Maji 1719. Wegen des autoris der Meditationum de Deo mundo & homine. (Frankfurt, 1719). 4 p. 20 ½ cm.

The author of *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine* with whom this little anonymous pamphlet, a kind of news-letter, deals is Theodor Ludwig

Lau (1670–1740). Lau was a German cameralist of original thought. He lived for a time in Frankfurt where he published, in 1717, some of his economic works as well as the *Meditationes* (602). The latter was confiscated by the city council as atheistic and its author banned from the city. Contemporary writers supported the authorities by declaring the pamphlet a Spinozistic writing; so did, for example, Johannes Michael Caspari, *Universalista in theologia naturali planeta*, 1719 (244) and Christian Thomasius, *Ernsthafte . . . Gedancken u. Erinnerungen*, 1720 (252). This could not have come as a surprise to the author who in the preface to the *Meditationes* foresaw that he would be denounced as a Spinozist. Lau, however, did not give up. In 1719 he published under a spurious imprint *Meditationes, theses dubia philosophico-theologica placidae eruditorum disquisitio religionis cuiusvis et nationis in magno mundi auditorio submissa a veritatis eclecticae amico*, for all practical purposes a re-issue and elaboration of the earlier *Meditationes*. The *Nachricht* relates that Lau then had the temerity to reappear in Frankfurt. It goes on to say that because he offended the city authorities and clergy he was arrested. While in jail the devil seized him; in desperation Lau cut the veins of both his arms, was found near death and when revived confessed his errors to a clergyman and asked for holy communion which was not granted to him.

I do not find any mention of this incident in the biographical accounts of Lau, contemporary or modern. They report that Lau revoked his heretic opinions in 1729.

1720

- 247 **An Account** of the life and writings of Spinoza. To which is added, Abstract of his Theological political treatise. Containing i. His discourses of prophecy. ii. Of prophets. iii. Of the gift of prophecy to other nations as well as the Jewish. iv. Of ceremonies. v. Of miracles. vi. Of the dependency of religion, and all things relating to it, on the civil magistrate. vii. [sic] Of the liberty of thinking and speaking. London: W. Boreham, 1720. [2] l., 96 p. 17 ½ cm.

The unknown author explains that he added an account of Spinoza's writings and "an abstract of his most famous treatise" to the biography of Spinoza "to prevent . . . the belief that heresy is ever the less pernicious for being attended with humanity and goodness." He further declares that he did not think of adding any remarks of his own since the absurdity of Spinoza's philosophy had already been sufficiently demonstrated by eminent writers.

This explanation does not appear very convincing if one notes, as Charles Singer, the previous owner of my copy of this little rare booklet, did, that the imprint is spurious and that most probably the book was printed surreptitiously like other anti-religious literature of the time.

Altogether the author, or rather compiler, did not put too much work into the preparation of the booklet. This *Account of the life and writings of Spinoza* is a shortened verbatim version of the English translation of Colerus' *Life of 1706* (158); the *Abstract* a summary picking paragraphs from the English translation of 1689 (690).

- 248 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Introductio ad historiam philosophiae Ebraeorum*. Accedit dissertatio de haeresi Valentiniana. Editio nova eaque multis accessio-nibus auctior. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1720. [14] l., 736 p., [10] l. Plates. 17 cm.

This history of Jewish philosophy by Johannes Franz Budde (156) deals mostly with the Cabala and Christian literature related to it. The thesis presented by Johann Georg Wachter's *Der Spinozismus im Juedenthumb*, 1699 (129), that the Cabala is the Jewish philosophy and that Spinoza adopted it, is investigated extensively (pp. 388–391, 399 f., 445–447, 539–541; see also pp. 45 and 507).

- 249 **Crousaz**, Jean Pierre de. *La logique, ou systeme de reflexions, qui peuvent contribuer à la netteté & à l'étendue de nos connoissances . . .* Seconde edition revue, corrigée & augmentée considerablement. Amsterdam: L'Honoré & Chatelain, 1720. 3 vols. Frontispiece, 23, [2] p., p. 1–453, [66] p.; p. (453 [sic])–965; [1] l., p. (965 [sic])–1535, [20] p. 16 ½ cm.

The second enlarged edition of Crousaz' *Système de réflexions* (198), now called *La logique*, also elaborates on his previous remarks on Spinoza (pp. 481, 964, 1459).

- 250 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Gronden van zekerheid, of de regte betoogwyse der wiskundigen so in het denkbeeldige, als in het zakelyke: ter wederlegging van Spinozas denkbeeldig samenstel; en ter aanleiding van eene sekere sakelyke wysbegeerte. . . .* Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1720. [28] l., 458 p. 24 cm.

Bernard Nieuwentyt's (234) posthumously published work on scientific methods distinguishes between the *denkbeeldige* method which applies to *entia rationis* and the *sakelyke* method dealing with true realities. After discussing the differences between them in detail, the author, pp. 244–387, uses the *sakelyke* method to refute the method and system of Spinoza.

- 251 **[Toland, John]**. *Pantheisticon*. Sive formula celebrandae sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres particulas divisa; quae pantheistarum, sive sodalium, continent I, mores et axiomata: II, numen et philosophiam: III, libertatem, et non fallentem legem, neque fallendam. Praemittitur de antiquis et novis eruditorum sodalitatibus, ut et de universo infinito et aeterno, diatriba. Subjicitur de duplici pantheistarum philosophia sequenda, ac de viri optimi et ornatissimi idea, dissertatiuncula. Cosmopolis [London], 1720. [3] l., 89 p. 18 cm.

While John Toland in 1704, when he published his *Letters to Serena* (149), still refrained from taking a radical antireligious stand, such reluctance is no longer evident in his *Pantheisticon*, which clearly shows the unbroken influence of Spinoza. Outlining the philosophic teachings, cult and liturgy for a sodality of pantheists who reject revelation and miracles, it glorifies truth and freedom which liberate man from the shackles of tyranny and superstition. Reason is the law of the sodality of pantheists who will publicly talk about God and soul only "where they are allowed to think what they wish and to say what they think."

The *Pantheisticon*, its title page printed like a missal in black and red letters, was clandestinely published by the author at his own expense. Not many copies were made available and most of them were sold to Toland's friends at a high price.

- 252 **[Thomasius, Christian]**. *Ernstshafte, aber doch muntere und vernuenfftige Thomasische Gedancken u. Erinnerungen ueber allerhand ausserlesene juristische Haendel*. Halle: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1720–1725. 4 vols. [8] l., 374 p.; [4] l., 373, [7] p.; [3] l., (376) p.; [4] l., (367) p., [8] l. 20 cm.

Since 1688, when Christian Thomasius began to publish his *Schertz – und ernstshafte . . . Gedancken*, a journal designed to expose theological and legal prejudices (72), this fighter against the bias of the orthodox published from time to time other journals or collections for the same purpose. The *Thomasische Gedancken . . . ueber . . . juristische Haendel* are among his last – a collection of reports and opinions rather than a journal.

An opinion Thomasius had rendered in July, 1717 for the law faculty of the University of Halle on Theodor Ludwig Lau's *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine* (246, 602) is reprinted in the *Gedancken* (vol. 1, pp. 233–258) under the revealing title *Elender Zustand eines in die Atheistery verfallenen Gelehrten*.

Lau, calling himself Titius, had submitted his booklet to the faculty and wanted to know whether the authorities of the city of Frankfurt were justified in considering it cause for arresting and banning him. Lau argued that, a steadfast Lutheran, he merely wrote under the mask of a pagan philosopher, that his writing was not atheistic or Spinozistic, and that illegal clerical tyranny was responsible for his troubles.

Thomasius, although a progressive, did not side with Lau. Quite the contrary. In the opinion which he submitted, he considered the actions of the Frankfurt city authorities mild and found Lau a Spinozist and Spinozism atheism incarnate (pp. 273 ff., 278; see also pp. 253 ff., 258 f., 308, 315). When Lau responded, expressing his disappointment at the verdict of the faculty, he cited as precedent other anti-Christian writings, among them Spinoza's (p. 264), which were merely confiscated and stated that "*spinozizat*" was a mostly misused term

(p.282). Thomasius whom Lau had also quoted as supporting evidence — and at that in conjunction with infamous writers — reacted angrily.

Ironically enough, the third volume of the *Thomasische Gedancken* also contains a report on the difficulties Thomasius encountered in Leipzig upon the publication of the *Schertz — und ernsthafte . . . Gedancken* (pp.1–167: *Reliquien des politischen Pabstthums mit gesuchter Inquisition wieder unschuldige Leute*). A professor in Leipzig, Augustus Pfeiffer, implying that Thomasius inclined toward atheism, had announced a *Collegium anti-atheisticum* against Thomasius and as usual the name of Spinoza was generously bandied about (see pp.68, 75–91, 155).

1721

- 253 **Bilfinger**, Georg Bernhard. *De harmonia animi et corporis humani, maxime praestabilita ex mente illustris Leibnitii, dissertationem inauguralem; ut . . . d.13. Sept. MDCCXXI. h. i. q. c. publice defendit M. Georg. Bernhard. Buelfinger . . . respondente Jacobo Davide Essichio, . . . Tuebingen: Joseph Sigmund, (1721). 20 p. 18 ½ cm.*

Georg Bernhard Bilfinger [Buelfinger] (1693–1750) was professor of philosophy at a number of German universities and the first exponent of *Leibniz-Wolffsche Philosophie*, a phrase he had coined. In this inaugural dissertation he states his opposition to Spinoza's "absolute necessity of natural laws" (pp. 4, 13, 15). See also my notes on Bilfinger's *Dilucidationes*, 1725 (278).

- 254 **Fénelon**, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Oeuvres philosophiques, ou démonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de l'art de la nature, dans la première partie: et dans la seconde, des preuves purement intellectuelles, & de l'idée de l'infini même . . . Edition nouvelle augmentée de diverses Reflexions (du Pere Tournemine), qui ne se trouvent dans aucune des éditions précédentes. Amsterdam: L'Honoré et Chatelain, 1721. Portrait, [7] l., 317 p. 15 ½ cm.*

The *Oeuvres philosophiques* contains Fénelon's *Démonstration* (203) and its second part (239). The preface to earlier editions by Père Tournemine is enlarged and appears at the end of the book under the title *Reflexions sur l'athéisme, sur la démonstration de Monseigneur de Cambrai, et sur le système de Spinoza*."

- 255 **Tilesius**, Balthasar Heinrich. *Disputation von der Arth zu urtheilen in der Philosophie und Mathematic, ins Deutsche uebersetzt, nebst einigen Anmerkungen darinnen auf M. Volckm[ar] Conr[ad] Poppo Spinozismum detectum geantwortet wird. Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1721. [1] l., 18 p. 21 cm.*

In 1720, Balthasar Heinrich Tilesius had publicly defended his dissertation, *De ratiocinatione philosophica et mathematica*, at the University of Leipzig. It argued against Andreas Ruediger that no essential difference exists between philosophical and mathematical reasoning. To refute Tilesius, Volckmar Conrad Poppo published in 1721 *Spinozismus detectus oder vernuenfftige Gedancken von dem wahren Unterschied der philosophischen und mathematischen Methode oder Lehr-Art. Worinnen der Auctor gezeigt, dass der Mechanismus und der Misbrauch der mathematischen Methode, der vornehmlich durch den Cartesium befestiget worden, der Grund des Spinozismi*. Immediately, to defend himself, Tilesius issued a German translation of his Latin dissertation, augmented by a number of notes against Poppo (pp.6, 11) and generally designed to demonstrate to anybody interested the absence of Spinozism in his writing (p.18).

1722

- 256 **B[uitendijk]**, G[osuinus van]. *Het denkbeeldig Spinozismus in't kort vertoont, en volgens de Gronden van de Heer Bernard Nieuwentyt wederlegt. Als mede, ter overtuiging van ongodisten en ongelovigen, de Goddelykheid van den Bybel, uit deszelfs merktekenen ook kort en klaar bewezen. Harderwyk: Johan Rampen, 1722. [6] l., 100, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.*

In 1711 and 1713, rare Dutch booklets (listed by A. van der Linde in his Spinoza bibliography, but not seen by him) linked Gosuinus van Buitendijk with the Spinozist Pontiaan van Hattem (112); in 1717 Carolus Tuinman wrote about van Buitendijk as a godless heretic (218); and in 1718 the States of Zeeland issued an ordinance prohibiting his horrible teachings (259). But four years later van Buitendijk had become an apologist for Christian religion! His *Het denkbeeldig Spinozismus*, aimed at convincing atheists of the divine origin of the Bible, is a condensation of Bernard Nieuwentyt's anti-Spinozistic *Gronden van zekerheid*, 1720 (250). In fact, his presentation is considerably more dogmatic than Nieuwentyt's.

- 257 **Houtteville**, Claude-François. *La religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits. Avec un discours historique et critique, sur la méthode des principaux auteurs qui ont écrit pour & contre le Christianisme depuis son origine. Paris: Grégoire Dupuis, 1722. [4] l., 204, 476 p. 25 cm.*

La religion chrétienne was one of the great book successes of its time; because of it Claude-François Houtteville (1686–1742) was made a member of the *Oratoire* and secretary of Cardinal Dubois, member of the French Academy.

Brilliantly written and free of the clichés usually found in apologetic works, the book gives a remarkably independent portrait of Spinoza's philosophical character (pp. CLXIII–CLXXI, CLXXX).

- 258 **Huet**, Pierre Daniel. *Demonstratio evangelica, ad Serenissimum Delphinum*. Sexta editio ab auctore recognita, castigata, et amplificata. Frankfurt: Thomas Fritsch, 1722. [9] l., 718 p., [41] l. 24 cm.

See my notes on the first edition, 1679 (33).

- 259 **Kerkelyk** plakaat-boek, behelzende de plakaaten, ordonnantien, ende resolutien, over de kerkelyke zaken. By een gebragt door Nikolaas Wiltens. . . . The Hague: Paulus en Isaac Scheltus, 1722. [15] l., 872 p., [14] l. 25 cm.

This collection of ordinances related to church matters contains the ordinance of the Court of Holland of July 19, 1674, condemning Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and other heretic books, and prohibiting their printing and sale (pp. 445 ff., 507 ff.); the ordinance to the same effect of the States of Holland and West-Vriesland of June 25, 1678 against Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (pp. 450 ff.); and the ordinance of February 11, 1718 of the States of Zeeland against the horrible heresies of the Hattemists, Gosuinus van Buitendijk and Jacob Bril — all of them originators of Spinozistic sects (pp. 692 ff.).

See also my notes on *Placaten ende ordonantien*, 1679 (36) and *Groot Placaatboek*, 1729 (305).

- 260 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. *Vindiciae antiquae christianorum disciplinae, adversus . . . Jo. Tolandi . . . Nazarenum*. Editio secunda, priori longe auctorior. Accedit De vita, fatis et scriptis Joannis Tolandi commentatio. Praefationem, qua atheismi calumnia a S. Scriptura depellitur, praemisit Jo. Franciscus Buddeus. . . . Hamburg: Vidua Benj. Schilleri, etc., 1722. [19] l., 184, 382 p., [5] l. 17 cm.

Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755), a German church historian and chancellor of the University of Tuebingen, once more discusses (pp. 5 f. of *Vindiciae*; pp. 147 f. of *De vita . . . commentatio*) the much-discussed thesis in John Toland's *Adeisidaemon* that Moses was a Spinozist (178). In his introductory treatise, discussing atheistic attacks on the Holy Scriptures, Johann Franz Buddeus (156) pays his usual attention to Spinoza.

- 261 [**Outhof**, Gerard]. *Kort begrip der Geulingiaanse zedekonst opgesteldt door Kepotyrannos Germanus, met de aanmerkingen van den Heer Cartesius Kristianus, voorgesteldt aan 't oordeel van . . . Antonius Driessen . . . Onder wiens Aanspaak [sic] aan den auteur dit geschriftje 't licht ziet*. Groningen: Weduwe van J. Barlinkhof, 1722. [4] l., 59 p. 19 ½ cm.

The handwritten dedication in my copy identifies the heretofore unknown author of this rare booklet. He is Gerard Outhof (1673–1733), a preacher and rector in Emden and Kampen, Holland. Among his books is a history of all floods from Noah to 1718, which may explain why my copy of the *Kort begrip* contains the author's handwritten dedication to the Dijkgraaf, the supervisor of dams, of Emden.

Kepotyrannos Germanus, who prepared the summary of Geulincx' *Ethica* (23), and Cartesius Kristianus, who critically annotated it, are clearly the same person, namely Outhof. The critical notes point out that Geulincx' *Ethica* contains analogies to Stoic and Spinozistic views (Dedication to Driessen, pp. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12–18, 22–24, 29–33, 40, 42 f., 47 f., 53, 59). Andala's books (186, 194) hewing to the same line are approvingly quoted.

Antonius Driessen (1648–1748), a Calvinist professor in Groningen, Holland, who had been engaged in numerous polemics with real or assumed Spinozists, declares in his opening contribution to the booklet that it was Andala who had opened his eyes to the danger in Geulincx' writings. Though not yet prepared to go so far as calling Geulincx' *Ethica* a Spinozistic and atheistic book, he is willing to concede that it is an irreligious work.

- 262 **Baillet**, Adrien. *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs . . . Revûs, corrigés, & augmentés par M. De la Monnoye . . .* (vol. 8: *Anti-Baillet, ou Critique du livre de Mr. Baillet, intitulé Jugemens des savans. Par Mr. Ménage. Avec les Observations de Mr. De la Monnoye, & les Reflexions sur les Jugemens des savans*). Paris: Charles Moette, etc., 1722–1730. 8 vols. 28 ½ cm.

The first edition of the *Jugemens des savans* by Adrien Baillet (1649–1706), French critic and librarian, appeared in 1685–1686. Thousands of authors, ancient and modern, are reviewed and classified in this famous critical work in which the comprehensive learning of 17th century French scholarship is displayed.

Vol. 1, pp. 270, 337, discusses the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and its different titles (686–689); strangely enough, Baillet regards Le Clerc as the translator (see 277). A few paragraphs on the titling of *Des trois imposteurs* (665, 667) are found on p. 287.

Vol. 2, p. 63, contains a bibliographical note on Benitez de Espinoza . . . *Deiste Hollandois*.

1723

- 263 **Gurdon**, Brampton. *The pretended difficulties in natural or reveal'd religion no excuse for infidelity. Sixteen sermons preach'd in the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, London; in the years 1721 and 1722: at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle. . . .* London: Robert Knaplock, 1723. [8] l., 503 p. 19 ½ cm.

Brampton Gurdon (d. 1741) was another of the English divines who preached against atheism under the auspices of the Boyle lectures. Not as effectively as his predecessor Samuel Clarke (189), but in a more concentrated fashion, Gurdon uses Spinoza as his prime target and evidence because, as he says, among the modern atheists he is the only one who has pretended to furnish a regular scheme of atheism. That scheme is subjected to a detailed critique (particularly pp. 87–145, 152 ff., 213 ff.). Throughout the book, whether Spinoza is mentioned by name or just as “the Atheist,” Gurdon’s purpose is to show that if there are difficulties in religion they are not solved by Spinoza, that his cure is worse than the disease.

See also my notes on *Miscellaneae observationes*, 1732 ff. (322), which contains a review of these lectures.

- 264 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. *Histoire de la vie de Mess^r. François de Salignac de la Motte-Fénelon, Archeveque Duc de Cambray*. The Hague: Frères Vaillant and N. Prevost, 1723. Portrait, 204, 28 p. 16 cm.

André-Michel de Ramsay (1686–1743), a French writer of Scottish birth, served with the English troops in the Netherlands; in 1710 he visited Fénelon, who converted him to Catholicism. Ramsay stayed and died in France. His biography of Fénelon draws on his close relationship with the Cardinal.

His discussion of Fénelon’s *Démonstration de l’existence de Dieu* gives Ramsay the opportunity to defend its author against the accusation of Spinozism (203, 222, 239, 240).

- 265 **Wolff**, Christian. *De differentia nexus rerum sapientis et fatalis necessitatis, nec non systematic harmoniae praestabilitae et hypothesium Spinosae luculenta commentatio, in qua simul genuina Dei existentiam demontrandi [sic] ratio expenditur et multa religionis naturalis capita illustrantur*. . . . Halle: Renger, 1724 [=1723]. [4] l., 80 p. 20 cm.

When Christian Wolff (1679–1754), the popularizer of Leibnitz and founder of the rationalistic “Leibnitz-Wolff School” which provided the philosophic foundations for the German Enlightenment, wrote *De differentia nexus rerum*, he could not foresee that this book would mark his initial involvement in a controversy which was to last for many years and radically change his life. It would create turmoil in the philosophy departments of German universities, lead to a vast polemical literature and divide professors into hostile camps.

Wolff’s antagonist was Joachim Lange (1670–1744), an orthodox Pietist and dean of the theological faculty of the University of Halle where Wolff served as professor of mathematics and natural sciences. In 1723 Lange published his *Causa Dei et religionis naturalis adversus atheismum et quae eum gignit, aut*

promovet, pseudophilosophiam veterum et recentiorum praesertim Stoicam et Spinozianam which accused Leibnitz and Wolff of promoting the cause of atheism and Spinozism. In *De differentia nexus rerum* Wolff asserts in his defense that his teachings are in accordance with those of Thomas Aquinas and recognized Lutheran theologians, and that his basic principles and his propositions deduced therefrom run counter to Spinoza’s philosophy.

De differentia nexus rerum was completed in August, 1723 and appeared before Wolff was banned from Halle in November of that year although the imprint shows the year 1724.

- 266 **Wolff**, Christian. *Monitum ad Commentationem luculentam de differentia nexus rerum sapientis et fatalis necessitatis, quo nonnulla sublimia metaphysicae ac theologiae naturalis capita illustrantur*. Halle: Renger, 1724 [=1723]. 36 p. 20 ½ cm.

Joachim Lange did not wait long to answer Christian Wolff’s *De differentia nexus rerum* (265).

His *Modesta disquisitio novi philosophiae systematis de Deo, mundo et homine, et praesertim de harmonia commercii inter animam et corpus praestabilita: cum epicrisi in viri cujusdam clarissimi commentationem de differentia nexus rerum* . . . appeared shortly thereafter in 1723. Wolff replied with equal speed. Although bearing the year 1724 as publication date, the *Monitum* actually appeared in 1723 prior to its author’s summary dismissal from office. Wolff declares that Lange, motivated by his desire to charge him with Spinozistic heresy, misunderstood him, and cites clerical and other authorities in his favor.

- 267 **Dupin**, Louis Ellies. *A new history of ecclesiastical writers: containing an account of the authors of the several books of the Old and New Testament; of the lives and writings of the Primitive Fathers; an abridgment and catalogue of their works; their various editions, and censures determining the genuine and spurious* . . . The third edition, corrected. Dublin: George Grierson, 1723–1724. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [7] l., 15, 720 p., [28] l.; [1] l., 558 p., [81] l.; [2] l., 6 (should be 4) p., [7] l., 756 p., [28] l. 39 ½ cm.

English translation of *Bibliothèque universelle de tous les auteurs ecclésiastiques* (90).

1724

- 268 **Beckher**, Wilhelm Heinrich. *Schediasma critico-philosophico-litterarium, de eo: Utrum Cartesius, qui de omnibus dubitandum esse credidit, numinis divini quoque existentiam in dubium vocaverit, ex indeque recte atheis annume-*

retur? Ob Cartesius gezweifelt dass ein Gott sey, und ein Atheist gewesen? Praemisso scriptorum, qui de Cartesio, in eius vel vitae monumenta, vel doctrinam novasque hypotheses inquirendo, pluribus disserverunt, brevi catalogo. Regensburg und Leipzig: Johann Philipp Haas, 1724. 64 p. 18 cm.

This discussion by a Prussian Protestant minister whether Descartes was an atheist — he answers in the negative — states that it was the abuse of Cartesian premises which led Lodewijk Meyer in his *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) and Spinoza to atheism. (pp. 51 f., 54).

- 269 **Bril**, Jacob. Gruenendes Klee-blatt aus J. Brills Schriften; in sich haltend und darbietende Die Gemueths-Ruhe: Das liebliche und angenehme Leben: und Die Preisswuerdige Freyheit: denen, die im neuen Leben des Geistes zu gruenen begehren, zur Erquickung und Aufmunterung mitgetheilet. Aufs neue gedruckt. . . N.p., 1724. 160 p. 15 1/2 cm.

A new edition of the collection published in 1714 (215).

- 270 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae variis observationibus illustratae. . . Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1724. Portrait, [8] l., 1396 p., [10] l. 20 cm.

In this theological tome Johannes Franz Budde (156) discusses Spinoza's positions with respect to God and freedom, pp. 236 f.; God and necessity, pp. 244–247; spirits, p. 455; and the resurrection of Christ, pp. 842 f.

- 271 **Buffier**, Claude. Traité des premières veritez, et de la source de nos jugemens, où l'on examine le sentiment des philosophes de ce temps, sur les premières notions des choses. Paris: La veuve Maugé, 1724. 10 p., [2] l., 324, 290 p., [3] l. 16 1/2 cm.

Claude Buffier (1640–1737) was a French Jesuit whose philosophical writings were influenced by Descartes and Locke. The *Traité* is his most original book, prompting Voltaire to quip that he was the only Jesuit who wrote sensibly on philosophy. Buffier reproaches Spinoza for abusing the geometrical spirit and confounding abstract notions and reality (pp. 200 f.).

- 272 **Goesmann**, Gottfried Christoph. Disputatio metaphysico-mechanica, de necessario et contingenti ac libero, notionibus, ad diiudicationem Spinosismi aliorumque errorum necessarias, exhibens: quam in Regia Fridericiana praeside Ioanne Ioachimo Langio, publice defendit Godofredus Christoph Goesmann. . . Halle: Christian Henckel, (1724). 24 p. 19 cm.

Goesmann's thesis discusses fallacies in Spinoza's determinism. Johann Joachim Lange (1698–1765), the sponsor of the thesis, was a son of Joachim

Lange and became the successor of Christian Wolff when his father succeeded in getting the king of Prussia to dismiss Wolff (273).

- 273 **Lange**, Joachim and Christian Wolff. Des Herrn Doct. und Prof. Joachim Langens oder: Der Theologischen Facultaet zu Halle Anmerkungen ueber des Herrn Hoff-Raths und Professor Christian Wolffens Metaphysicam von denen darinnen befindlichen so genannten der natuerlichen und geoffenbarten Religion und Moralitaet entgegen stehenden Lehren. Nebst beygefuegter Hr. Hoff-R. und Prof. Christian Wolffens gruendlicher Antwort. Cassel: auf Unkosten des Verlegers, 1724. [2] l., 75p. 20 1/2 cm.

Christian Wolff and Joachim Lange had quarreled throughout the year 1723 (265, 266). Their feud became deadly serious when Wolff's German metaphysics, *Vernuenfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt und der Seele des Menschen* (383) was denounced in 1723 as a pernicious book by Daniel Straehler, a young faculty member of the University of Halle. Wolff answered and the authorities upheld him. But then Joachim Lange submitted another, official, opinion — the *Anmerkungen* — and stated that Wolff's concept of pre-established harmony led to a Stoic and Spinozistic fatalism (p. 39). As a result, by order of the king who had been told that according to Wolff's determinism none of his soldiers could be punished for desertion, since their acts were predetermined, Wolff was deprived of his professorship and ordered to leave Prussia within twenty-four hours on pain of death. The *Antwort* contains his answer, paragraph by paragraph, to Lange's report. Bitterly he rejects Lange's calumny, stating that he need not retract since his teachings have nothing in common with Spinoza's (pp. 45, 46 f., 75).

See the following entry (274).

- 274 **Lange**, Joachim. Bescheidene und ausfuehrliche Entdeckung der falschen und schaedlichen Philosophie in dem Wolffianischen Systemate metaphysico von Gott, der Welt, und dem Menschen; und insonderheit von der so genannten harmonia praestabilita des commercii zwischen Seel und Leib: wie auch in der auf solches Systema gegruendeten Sitten-Lehre: nebst einem historischen Vorbericht, von dem, was mit dem Herrn Auctore desselben in Halle vorgegangen: unter Abhandlung vieler wichtigen Materien, und mit kurtzer Abfertigung der Anmerkungen ueber ein gedoppeltes Bedencken von der Wolffianischen Philosophie: nach den principiis der gesunden Vernunft, auf Gutbefinden der saemtl. theologischen Facultaet in Halle dargestellet von D. Joachim Langen. . . Halle: Waysenhaus, 1724. 566 p. 20 1/2 cm.

Joachim Lange followed Wolff's *Antwort* to his *Anmerkungen* for the Halle faculty, 1724 (273) with this lengthy analysis of Wolff's metaphysical system. He

reiterates the accusations of atheism and Spinozism contained in Wolff's metaphysics and shows how dangerous such beliefs are to the welfare of the state (see especially pp. 19, 47–56, 234 ff., 372 f., 384 ff.). He denounces Wolff's ethics as leading to a Leenhofian Spinozism and supports Johannes Franz Budde, valiant fighter against Spinoza and Leenhof (p. 556), whom Wolff had criticized. An account of the events in Halle leading to Wolff's dismissal opens the book.

- 275 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *The religious philosopher: or, the right use of contemplating the works of the creator . . . Designed for the conviction of atheists and infidels . . . Translated from the Low-Dutch . . . The third edition. . .* London: J. Senex, etc., 1724. 2 vols. [1] l., 8 p., [14] l., 29 p., p. 1–234; [1] l., p. 235–585; plates. 22 ½ cm.

The English translation of Nieuwentyt's *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen* (234) by J. Chamberlayne.

1725

- 276 [**Argonne**, Noël]. *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature par M. de Vigneul-Marville*. Quatrième édition, revüe, corrigée, & augmentée. . . Paris: Au Palais chez Claude Prudhomme, 1725. 3 vols. [2] l., 491, [22] p.; [1] l., 472 p., [12] l.; [1] l., 392 p., [14] l. 16 cm.

De Vigneul-Marville is the pseudonym of Noël Argonne (1634–1704), an advocate who later became a Carthusian monk. In his *Mélanges*, a curious work full of literary anecdotes, critical observations, and satire, Argonne doubts Gilles Ménage's report (105) of a visit of Spinoza to France where only a hasty flight prevented his arrest (vol. 2, pp. 356 f.). Pierre Bayle, too, in the article "Spinoza" in his *Dictionnaire*, 1702 (141) refutes Ménage's tales and refers in this connection to de Vigneul-Marville.

- 277 **Baillet**, Adrien. *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs . . . Revüs, corrigez, & augmentez par Mr. de la Monnoye*. Nouvelle édition, augmentée 1. de l'Anti-Baillet de Menage, avec des Observations de Mr. de la Monnoye; 2. des Reflexions sur les Jugemens des savans; 3. des Reflexions sur la Vie de Descartes par Baillet; 4. des Jugemens des savans sur les maitres d'éloquence par Mr. Gibert. . . Amsterdam: Aux depens de la Compagnie, 1725. 8 vols. 25 cm.

See my notes on no. 262. The first volume of this edition of 1725 omits the erroneous ascription to Le Clerc of the French translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (pp. 170 f.).

- 278 **Bilfinger**, Georg Bernhard. *Dilucidationes philosophicae de Deo, anima humana, mundo, et generalibus rerum affectionibus*. Tübingen: Johann Georg & Christian Gottfried Cotta, 1725. [4] l., 706 p., [14] l. 19 ½ cm.

The *Dilucidationes* is the most important work, printed and excerpted over and over, of Georg Bernhard Bilfinger [Buelfinger] (253). It defends Leibnitz' concept of the pre-established harmony, but is careful to provide an interpretation which does not lead to fatalism and conflict with religious concepts. Particular precaution is taken to avoid any semblance of Spinoza's notions of necessity, liberty and fate to Leibnitz's ideas (pp. 37, 56, 293 ff.; see also pp. 202 ff. and 314).

- 279 **Fabricius**, Johann Albert. *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum qui veritatem religionis christianae adversus atheos, Epicureos, deistas seu naturalistas, idololatrias, Judaeos et Muhammedanos lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt. . .* Hamburg: Theodor Christopher Felginer, 1725. Frontispiece, [5] l., 755, [29] p. 20 ½ cm.

The *Delectus* by Johann Albert Fabricius (279) is a summary of the main arguments of Christian apologetic literature and a *catalogue raisonné* of books written in defense of Christian religion against its attackers. A list of anti-Spinozistic literature is contained on pp. 357–361; other works of the same type appear under various other headings.

- 280 **Lange**, Joachim. *Ausführliche Recension der wider die Wolfianische Metaphysic auf 9. Universitaeten und anderwaertig edirten saemmtlichen 26. Schriften: mit dem Erweise, dass der Herr Professor Wolf sich gegen die wohlgegruendeten Vorwuerfe in seinen versuchten Verantwortungen bisher keinesweges gerettet habe, noch auch kuenftig retten koenne: denen zum besten, welche besagte Schriften weder alle haben, noch alle lesen koennen; doch aber von gedachter Philosophie gern urtheilen wollen, oder auch davon, ohne sie recht eingesehen zuhaben, eingenommen sind. . .* Halle: Buch-Laden des Waysen-Hauses, 1725. [6] l., 283, [1] p. 20 cm.

This book by Christian Wolff's indefatigable enemy, Joachim Lange, is a summary of the literature published against Wolff since the outbreak of the Lange-Wolff controversy (265, 266, 272, 273, 274). With it Lange wants to demonstrate how impressive the list of his supporters is who share the belief that Wolff is an atheistic Spinozist and how unsuccessful Wolff's attempts were to refute the accusation; see in particular pp. 4, 17, 26, 34, 38, 68 (Budde), 94 ff. (Andala), 144 ff. (Friedrich Hoffmann), 154 ff., (Johann Joachim Lange), 199 ff., 213, 247, 257.

- 281 **Martin**, Gabriel. *Bibliotheca Fayana, seu catalogus librorum bibliothecae . . . Car. Hieronymi de Cisternay Du Fay . . . Digestus & descriptus a Gabriele Martin . . .* Paris: Fabriel Martin, 1725. Portrait, [5] l., 22, 450, 107, [52] p. 20 cm.

Charles Jérôme de Cisternay Du Fay (1662–1723), captain of the French Royal Guard, formed his library with the express intention of setting up a museum of literary rarities. Among them, listed in this catalogue prepared by the Paris bookdealer Gabriel Martin, are Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (in different editions) and *Opera posthuma*, works wrongly attributed to Spinoza and other Spinozana (pp. 109 f.).

- 282 **Reimmann**, Jacob Friedrich. *Historia universalis atheismi et atheorum falso & merito suspectorum apud Judaeos, ethnicos, Christianos, Muhamedanos . . . Accessit in fine Idea compendii theologici omnibus aliis compendiis praemittendi, in quo traditur ratio se praemunendi, adversus scepticos, atheos, deistas, ethnicos, Judaeos, Muhamedanos & Christianos ab A.C. abhorrentes.* Hildesheim: Ludolph Schroeder, 1725. [16] l., 562 p., [11] l. 17 1/2 cm.

This universal history of atheism by Jacob Friedrich Reimmann (236) is indeed universal inasmuch as it examines writers, mostly philosophers but not omitting poets, of all times and places who have been accused of atheism or Spinozism. A few suspects, among them Moses and Plato, are absolved from Spinozism; a vast number of others in a highly disparate motley, among them oriental thinkers and all Jews, are reconfirmed as Spinozists.

1726

- 283 **Iselin**, Jacob Christoff. *Neu-vermehrtes historisch- und geographisches allgemeines Lexicon, in welchem das Leben, die Thaten, und andere Merckwuerdigkeiten deren Patriarchen, Propheten, Apostel, Vaetter der ersten Kirchen, Paebsten, Cardinaelen, Bischoeffen, Praelaten, vornehmer Gelehrten, und anderer sonst in denen Geschichten beruehmter Maennern und Kuenstlern, nebst denen so genannten Ketzern; wie nicht weniger derer Kayser, Koenigen . . . und endlichen die Beschreibung derer Kayserthuemern, Koenigreichen, Fuerstenthuemern, freyen Staenden, Landschaften, Insulen, Staedten . . . und so fortan, aus allen vorhin ausgegebenen . . . Lexicis, auch anderen . . . Schrifften zusammen gezogen, . . . und um ein grosses vermehret. . .* Basel: Johann Brandmueller, 1726. 4 vols. [1] l., 32, 1129 p.; [1] l., 1020 p.; [1] l., 40, 1066 p.; [1] l., 998 p., [2] l. 35cm.

The article "Spinoza" in this encyclopedia by Jacob Christoff Iselin (1681–1737), professor and librarian in Basel, gives a list of writings on Spinoza and his biography without bias (vol. 4, pp. 470 f.).

- 284 **Joecher**, Christian Gottlieb. *Compendioeses Gelehrten-Lexicon, darinnen die Gelehrten aller Staende, als Fuersten und Staats-Leute, die in der Literatur erfahren . . . an der Zahl ueber 20000 . . . Kurtz und deutlich nach alphabetischer Ordnung beschrieben worden . . . Nebst einer Vorrede Herrn D. Joh. Burchard Menckens . . . Die andere Auflage . . . sorgfaeltig uebersehen, und mit etlichen 1000. Articuln vermehret. . .* Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1726. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [13] l., 1628 cols.; [1] l., 1682 cols., [3] p. 21 1/2 cm.

Christian Gottlieb Joecher (1694–1758), a librarian, developed his lexicon of learned men and women through various editions into one of the most useful biographical reference books. His article on Spinoza (vol. 2, cols. 1121 f.) is distinguished by its objectivity.

See also my notes on the greatly enlarged edition of 1751 (446).

- 285 **Lange**, Joachim. *Nova anatome, seu Idea analytica systematis metaphysici Wolfiani, qua illud in integra compage sua, secundum suam sic dicti idealismi et materialismi genesin, seu compositionem biformem, ob graves rationes denuo resolutum atque evisceratum exhibetur: cui . . . praemittitur Oratio de sapientia sinarum Confuciana, quam systematis istius auctor Halae Sax. die xii. Jul. a. MDCCXXI . . . recitavit, notis elencticis uberioribus instructa: ac subiungitur epicrisis in notas istius orationis Wolfianas. . .* Frankfurt und Leipzig: Knoch, 1726. 174 p. 20 cm.

Another publication, and by far not the last, by which Joachim Lange tries to demolish Christian Wolff (274, 280). It begins with a reprint of Wolff's lecture in 1721 on Chinese philosophy in which Wolff praised the ethics of the "pagan" Chinese, thereby provoking the faculty of his university to examine all his other writings. It continues with Lange's critical analysis of Wolff's metaphysics, emphasizing at many places the Spinozistic character of Wolff's statements (see particularly pp. 84 f., 88, 93, and 125). The appendix on atheism — whether it is per se detrimental to morality and the state — cites Spinoza and the Spinozists Leenhof and Lau as evidence that it positively is (pp. 147–151).

- 286 **Mueller**, Jacob Friedrich. *Wahres Mittel, alle Puncten, worueber zwischen Herrn Hof-Rath und Prof. Wolffen und seinen Gegnern bisher gestritten worden, leicht einzusehen, und ohne Muehe zu beurtheilen; vor diejenige, welche die Streit-Schrifften nicht alle lesen wollen, verfasst. . .* Frankfurt am Main: Schoenwetter, 1726. [8] l., 307, [1] p. 20 1/2 cm.

Jacob Friedrich Mueller appears in this book as a staunch defender of Christian Wolff. Examining Joachim Lange's writings against Wolff and some of Lange's supporters (274, 280, 285), he finds them unconvincing and based on a misreading of philosophical texts. He terms Lange's labeling Wolff a Spinozist

ludicrous, his understanding of Spinoza faulty and goes so far as to find Lange arguing Spinozistic propositions without recognizing them (pp. 17, 22–31, 34, 50 f., 102 f., 108–113, 116, 133, 141 ff., 160, 168, 180, 197, 203, 206 ff., 214, 226).

Five years later, after Mueller had been made professor of logic and metaphysics at the University of Giessen, he repudiated Wolff and joined his detractors.

- 287 **Walch**, Johann Georg. *Philosophisches Lexicon*, darinnen die in allen Theilen der Philosophie, als Logic, Metaphysic, Physic, Pneumatic, Ethic, natuerlichen Theologie und Rechts-Gelehrsamkeit, wie auch Politic fuer kommenden Materien und Kunst-Woerter erklaeret und aus der Historie erlaeutert; die Streitigkeiten der aeltern und neuern Philosophen erzehlet, die dahin gehoerigen Buecher und Schrifften angefuehret. . . . Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch seel. Sohn, 1726. Portrait, [20] l., 3048 columns, [90] p. 21 cm.

Johann Georg Walch (1693–1775), professor of philosophy at the University of Jena, was one of the editors of *Neuer Buecher-Saal*, 1710 (185) and the author of *Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten*, 1733 (327).

The article “Spinozismus” (column 2404–2410) is a relatively moderate account of Spinoza’s atheistic propositions. The *Erstes Register* lists under “Spinoza” other entries dealing with him.

1727

- 288 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. *Miscellanea sacra sive dissertationum aliarumque commentationum ad theologiam historiam ecclesiasticum et recentiores controversias spectantium collectio*. . . . Jena: Johann Felix Bielck, 1727. 3 vols. Portrait, [19] l., 549, [23] p.; [6] l., 422p., [15] l.; [2] l., 1292 p. (the page following p. 527 is numbered 528–1104), [12] l. 21 cm.

This collection of dissertations and academic *Gelegenheits-schriften* by Johannes Franz Budde (156) or by others done under his sponsorship, contains the “Programma de origine gentis ebraeae contra Ioan. Tolandum;” a reprint of the *Invitatio ad lectiones* . . . *Andreae Danzii*, 1710 (179), and Hecking’s dissertation, *De usu mysteriorum fidei in praxi vitae christianae*, 1713 (207).

- 289 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Die Kranckheit und Artzney des thierisch-sinnlichen Lebens*, wie solche nach ihrem eigentlichem Ursprung mittelst einer natuerlich-artzneyischen Untersuchung wieder lauter und rein hergestellt worden. Wobey zugleich die ungereimte Thorheiten derjenigen, so alles nur nach denen Reguln einer leblosen aeußerlichen gewaltsamen Bewegung oder Treibwercks (Mechanismus) ohne eine innerliche weissliche Anordnung eines

geistlich verstaendlichen Wesens abmessen wollen, wie Spinoza und seines gleichen gethan, gruendlich entdeckt, und mit klaren deutlichen unwider-sprechlichen Beweisssthuern aus dem Bezirk der gesunden Vernunft herab-gestossen, und widerlegt, und die gantze Ordnung der allgemeinen Bewegung in ihrer genauer Aneinanderhangung gebuehrend vorgetragen werden durch Christian Democritum, der Artzney Doctorn. Erstmahls lateinisch zu Leyden in Holland . . . 1711. der Welt bekannt gemacht. Nachmahls . . . in die hochteutsche Sprache uebersetzt von P(olycarpus) C(hrysostomus) [Georg Christoph Brendel]. Zum andernmahl teutsch gedruckt. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1727. 224, 48 p. 18 cm.

Die Kranckheit is the German translation of *Vitae animalis morbus et medicina*, 1711, the dissertation — a bizarre one — which Johann Conrad Dippel (193) submitted to obtain a medical degree. Like other writings of his, this dissertation aims at analyzing and describing the basic powers of nature and mind. To achieve his purpose, Dippel uses fanciful speculation and sharp empirical observation curiously intermingled. The main targets of his attack are the systems of “mechanism” which range from Spinoza’s fatalism to the theological doctrines of predestination. Spinoza, as Dippel sees it, submits even God to the “onslaught” of mechanical sensations (pp. 41 ff.). Philosophers who conceive of God as *actus purus* in truth follow, Dippel says, Spinoza’s mechanistic teachings (pp. 192 f.), and altogether the absolute ontological causation which he propounds led Spinoza to madness when he eliminated divine decree and providence (pp. 210 ff.).

Another German translation appeared in 1736 (337).

- 290 **Hollmann**, Samuel Christian. *Commentatio philosophica de miraculis et genuinis eorundem criteriis aliorumque quorundam de iisdem sententiis ad tollenda, quae circa vulgarem moveri sententiam possunt, dubia inprimis comparata*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Haeredes B. Zimmermanni, 1727. [8] l., 168 p. 19 cm.

Samuel Christian Hollmann (1696–1787), a professor at the university of Wittenberg, first criticized the philosophy of Christian Wolff, but then in this book became reconciled to it. The *Commentatio*, accepting Wolff’s position on miracles, rejects their denial by Spinoza (pp. 145–157).

- 291 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. *Het regt gebruik der werelt beschouwingen, ter overtui-ginge van ongodisten en ongelovigen aangetoont*. . . . Den vierden druk. Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1727. [1] l., frontispiece, [1] l., portrait, [5] l., 916 p., [9] l., 28 plates. 24 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1717 (234).

- 292 **Nieuwentyt**, Bernard. L'Existence de Dieu, démontrée par les merveilles de la nature en trois Parties; ou l'on traite de la structure du corps de l'homme, des elemens, des astres, & de leurs divers effets. . . . Amsterdam. Jean Pauli, 1727. [5] l., 584 p., [6] l., 28 plates. 24 cm.

French edition of Nieuwentyt, *Het regt gebruik* (234).

- 293 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the ancients. London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1727. 2 vols. [4] l., 312 p.; [1] l., 186 p., [18] l. (numbered as 17 double pages), 144 p. 20 cm.

The travels of Cyrus by the Chevalier Ramsay (264) is the English version of the Paris edition of *Les voyages de Cyrus*; both versions were published simultaneously. The book — a utopia — follows closely the model of *Télémaque*, the political novel of Ramsay's patron Fénelon. Possessed of the quietist emotional religiosity of Mme Guyon, whom he had joined after Fénelon's death in 1715, and averse to thinking of religion in terms of a philosophical system, Ramsay rejects Spinoza not as a proponent of immanence, but as an atheist to whom nature is but one immense blind matter.

This first edition is not as explicit as later editions of *The travels of Cyrus* (311) though Anaximander in Book VI of the second volume clearly is an allegorical version of Spinoza. Reference to the connection between Anaximander and Spinoza as well as Bruno and Vanini is made in the "Discourse upon the theology and mythology of the antients" which is appended to the second volume (p. 79). One also finds there a curious statement on Egomism and Spinozism.

Ramsay was also the author of *Philosophical principles of natural and revealed religion*, published posthumously in 1748, which contains a thorough discussion of Spinoza's views (430).

- 294 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the ancients . . . The second edition. London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1727–1728. 2 vols. [1] l., 8 p. (including the frontispiece), 312 p.; frontispiece, 196 p., [18] l. (numbered as 17 double pages), 144 p. 19 ½ cm.

The second English edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia; see my notes on the first English edition (293).

- 295 **Stolle**, Gottlieb. Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit, denen zum besten, so den freyen Kuensten und der Philosophie obliegen . . . nunmehr zum drittemal, verbessert und mit neuen Zusaetzen vermehret, herausgegeben. . . .

Jena: Johann Meyers seel. Witwe, 1727–1736. Frontispiece, [8] l., 778 p., [35] l.; [4] l., 96 p., [12] l.; 268 p., [14] l. 20 ½ cm. The last part, *Gantz neue Zusaetze und Ausbesserungen der Historie philosophischen Gelahrheit*, appeared separately in 1736.

Gottlieb Stolle (1673–1744), a man of encyclopedic knowledge, was professor of political sciences at the University of Jena. He is an important source for Spinoza's life and the genesis of his writings. As a young man, in 1703, he and two companions had visited the Netherlands. The travellers collected as much information about Spinoza as they could obtain, gathered the opinions of Dutch savants (p. 416), and interviewed people with whom Spinoza had personal contact or their descendants, among them Jan Rieuwertsz, Jr., the son of Spinoza's publisher. A complete collection of the reports of the travellers on Spinoza was published by J. Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinoza's*, 1899, pp. 221 ff.

The *Anleitung*, a comprehensive compendium on scholars and their writings, contains important information on Spinoza and Spinoza literature (pp. 413 ff., 480 ff., 485, 495, 676; see also p. 356; *Neue Zusaetze*, pp. 2, 42; *Gantz neue Zusaetze*, p. 153). Particularly important is Stolle's statement (p. 495) on the original Dutch version of the *Ethica*, i.e. the *Korte Verhandelung von God, de mensch en der zelfs welstand*. Generally his remarks are characterized by a moderation rarely found in similar literature: how many of his contemporaries would have dared to say that Spinoza wrote the *Ethica* as a guide to virtue as well as atheism (p. 676)?

1728

- 296 **[Campbell, Archibald]**. Αρετη-λογία or, an enquiry into the original of moral virtue; wherein the false notions of Machiavel, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Mr. Bayle, as they are collected and digested by the author of The fable of the bees, are examin'd and confuted; and the eternal and unalterable nature and obligation of moral virtue is stated and vindicated. To which is prefix'd, a prefatory introduction, in a letter to that author. By Alexander Innes, D. D. Preacher-Assistant at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Westminster: B. Creaque, etc., 1728. [4] l., 41, [1], 333, [3] p. 19 ½ cm.

Alexander Innes (ca. 1675–1742?) is not the author of this book; Archibald Campbell (1691–1756), professor at St. Andrews, wrote it. In 1726, on a trip to London, Campbell had given the manuscript to Alexander Innes, then a preacher in London. Innes was a crook. While serving as a chaplain to the military, he had been an accomplice of George Psalmanazar, the literary impostor. In fact, it was he who had masterminded Psalmanazar's gigantic frauds. Innes

did not hesitate a bit to publish Campbell's manuscript under his name. When Campbell came to London again in 1730, he went to see Innes and "made him tremble in his shoes." Yet, all Innes publicly did was issue a notice on the true authorship. In 1733 Campbell republished the book as his own.

The *Enquiry* challenges the moral skepticism propounded by Bernard de Mandeville in his *The fable of the bees* which had appeared in 1711 and gone through many editions (531). There is no mention of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Spinoza or Bayle in the book. The reference on the title page to them was Innes' sensationalist contribution, explained in his introduction when he calls them "champions for immorality and infidelity" from whom Mandeville transcribed his own opinions. Campbell's true position is best presented in his title of the 1733 edition of his book: he wants to show "that virtue is founded in the nature of things, is unalterable, and eternal, and the great means of private and public happiness."

- 297 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle. . . . The seventh edition, corrected. There is inserted in this edition, A discourse concerning the connexion of the prophecies in the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ. There is also added, An answer to a Seventh letter, concerning the argument a priori, in proof of the being of God. London: James and John Knapton, 1728. [12] l., 502 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189).

- 298 **Clarke, Samuel.** A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle. . . . The seventh edition, corrected. There is inserted in this edition, A discourse concerning the connexion of the prophecies in the Old Testament, and the application of them to Christ. There is also added, An answer to a Seventh letter, concerning the argument a priori, in proof of the being of God. London: James and John Knapton, 1728. [12] l., 506 p., [1] l. 20 cm.

See my notes on nos. 189 and 298.

This is a later printing of the seventh edition of 1728. It contains two inserts adding to the first issue of this edition the pages 503–506.

- 299 **Heineccius, Johann Gottlieb.** Elementa philosophiae rationalis et moralis ex principiis ad modum evidentibus iusto ordine adornata accessere historia philosophica . . . Frankfurt-on-Oder: Johann Gottfried Conrad, 1728. [10] l., 208, 217 (misprinted as 179) p., [12] l. 16 cm.

Johann Gottlieb Heineccius [Heinecke] (1681–1741), professor at the universities of Frankfurt-on-Oder and Halle, remarks on the similarity between Geulincx and Spinoza (pp. 64 f.) and states that Spinoza is not a product of Cartesianism (pp. 65 f.).

- 300 **Nieuwentyt, Bernard.** Gronden van zekerheid, of the regte betoogwyse der wiskundigen so in het denkbeeldige, als in het zakelyke: ter wederlegging van Spinosaas denkbeelding samenstel; en ter aanleiding van eene sekere sake-lyke wysbegeerte . . . Den tweden druk. Amsterdam: Joannes Pauli, 1728. [28] l., 456 p. 25 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1720 (250).

- 301 **Ramsay, André-Michel de.** Les voyages de Cyrus, avec un discours sur la mythology. Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1728. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [4] l., 187 p.; frontispiece, [1] l., 116, 180 p. 16 ½ cm.

The second French edition of Ramsay's *Cyropédie* (293). The express references to Spinoza are on p. 81 of the *Discourse* (vol. 2); *Livre VI* contains the statements of the Spinozising *Anaximandre*.

- 302 **St. Evremond, Charles de.** The Works . . . made English from the French original: with the life of the author; by Mr. Des Maizeaux, F.R.S. To which are added The memoirs of the Dutchess of Mazarin, &c. The second edition, corrected and enlarged . . . London: J. and J. Knapton, etc., 1728. 3 vols. Portrait, [7] l., 26, 167 p., [2] l., 248 p., plate; portrait, [4] l., 432 p.; portrait, 39, 387 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1714 (217). In this second edition the account on Spinoza is shortened (vol. 1, pp. LVI f.).

- 303 **Struve, Burkhard Gotthelf.** Bibliotheca philosophica in suas classes distributa recensuit et largissimis accessionibus instruxit Ioannes Georgius Lotterus. . . . Jena: Ernst Claudius Bailliar, 1728. [5] l., 13, [1], 273, [49] p. 17 ½ cm.

Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, 1710 (182), produced scores of books of immense and varied learning. His *Bibliotheca philosophica*, a classification of philosoph-

ical writers, lists some of the biographical Spinoza literature (pp.64 and 66) and writers opposing Spinoza (pp.116, 118, 198, 201, 204, 235).

1729

- 304 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Vera demonstratio evangelica* das ist, ein in der Natur und dem Wesen der Sachen selbst so wohl, als in heiliger Schriftt gegruendeter Beweiss der Lehre und des Mittler-Amtes Jesu Christi durch Christianum Democritum von Mitter-Nacht mit sich zurueck in Teutschland gebracht, und der Pest, die im Finstern schleichet, nebst der Seuche, die im Mittage verderbet, als ein Gegen-Gifft entgegen gestellt: oder Communication desjenigen, was in Schweden mit ihm passiert, und bey solcher Gelegenheit von ihm, zur Rettung der Wahrheit, zu Papier gebracht worden. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1729. 54 p., [1] l., 384 p. 17 cm.

In the first part of the *Vera demonstratio*, Johann Conrad Dippel (193) reports on his unsuccessful attempt to settle in Sweden after being released by the Danes who had held him in prison for many years. The refusal of the Swedes to grant him residence is proof to Dippel that the dark powers of the devil rule the church. To show the light and the power of the true God, Dippel presents to the world a number of writings forming the remainder of the *Vera demonstratio*. Among them is *Grund-Riss zu einem solchen systemate theologico, welches die Bloesse aller Secten und den Abfall von der einigen Religion klar vor Augen leget*, in which Dippel asserts against the theologians teaching predeterminism that the mind is free and acts without guidance by or interference from God. If one believes in predeterminism, he says, one might as well be a follower of the foolish Spinoza whose God is an immense monster (pp.82 ff.).

- 305 Groot placaatboek vervattende alle de placaten, ordonantien en edicten, der edele mogende Heeren Staten's lands van Utrecht; mitsgaders van de ed. groot achth. Heeren Borgemeesteren en Voredschap der Stad Utrecht; tot het jaar 1728 ingesloten... Alle in eene natuurlyke ordre... gebragt... en met nodige registers voorzien, door Johan vande Water. ... Utrecht: Jacob van Poolsum, 1729. 3 vols. [1] l., frontispiece, [25] l., 115, [1], 764 p.; [1] l., 1222 p.; [2] l., 1124 p. 40 cm.

The *Placaatboek*, a collection of the ordinances issued by the authorities of Utrecht, contains, vol. 3, p. 432 f., the ordinance of the magistrate of Utrecht, of October 24, 1678, prohibiting the printing and selling of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *Opera*.

See also my notes on *Placaten ende ordonantien*, 1679 (36) and *Kerkelyk plakaat-book*, 1722 (259).

- 306 Leydekker, Melchior. *De verborgentheid des geloofs eenmal den heiligen overgelevert, of het kort begryp der ware godsgeleerdheid, beleden in de Gereformeerde Kerk*... Tweede druk. Amsterdam: Salomon Schouten, 1729. [10] l., 464 p., [3] l. 19 ½ cm.

This book, the main work of Melchior Leydekker (1642–1721), professor of theology at the University of Utrecht — he also wrote against Leenhof's Spinozistic teachings — is a synopsis of the theology according to the Reformed Church. The few references to Spinoza, named or unnamed (pp.58, 135, 143 f., 154) reveal little beyond the routine animosity of an anti-Cartesian churchman.

- 307 Ménage, Gilles. *Menagiana ou les bons mots et remarques critiques, historiques, morales & d'érudition, de Monsieur Ménage, recueillies par ses amis*... Nouvelle edition. Paris: Delaulne, 1729. 4 vols. [30] l., 405, [1] p.; [1] l., 460 p., [2] l.; [1] l., 432 p., [1] l.; [1] l., 418, [2] p. 16 ½ cm.

Enlarged edition of the *Menagiana* (105). The report on Spinoza's sojourn in France and his escape from that country is found in vol. 3, pp. 30 f. Vol. 4, pp. 283–312, contains a "Lettre à Monsieur Bouhier, Président au Parlement de Dijon, sur le prétendu livre des trois imposteurs," dated June 12, 1712, by Bernard de la Monnoie, the editor of the *Menagiana* (a reference to Spinoza on pp. 299 f.).

1730

- 308 [Durand, David]. The life of Lucilio (alias Julius Caesar) Vanini, burnt for atheism at Thoulouse. With an abstract of his writings. Being the sum of the atheistical doctrine taken from Plato, Aristotle, Averroes, Cardanus and Pomponatius's philosophy. With a confutation of the same; and Mr. Bayle's arguments in behalf of Vanini compleatly answered. Translated from the French into English. London: W. Meadows, 1730. 6 p., [3] l., 110 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

English translation of Durand's *La vie et les sentimens de Lucilio Vanini* (233).

- 309 Malebranche, Nicolas. *Avis touchant l'Entretien d'un philosophe chrétien avec un philosophe chinois*... pour servir de réponse à la critique de cet Entretien, inserée dans les Memoires de Trévoux du mois de Juillet 1708. Paris: Michel-Estienne David, 1730. [1] l., 36 p. 16 ½ cm.

The edition of 1730 differs from the one of 1708 (169) inasmuch as the "Temoignages de plusieurs jesuites touchant l'athéisme des Chinois" (pp.37–40) are omitted. Instead Malebranche explains briefly why he did not continue the controversy and states that he eliminated the "Temoignages" because he was not its author.

- 310 [Ramsay, André-Michel de]. Les voyages de Cyrus. Nouvelle edition. London: Jaques Bettenham, 1730. [3] l., 16, 351, 104 p. 27 ½ cm.

This is a much enlarged edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia (293, 294, 301). Done *au papier grand* and beautifully vignetté, it was sold on subscription by the author; my copy contains the subscription form and sample page, dated London, April 20, 1729, and Ramsay's receipt for one Louis d'or, the price of the book, received from the Bishop of Arlais.

Ramsay explains in the "Préface" the nature of the changes and additions. The sixth book now makes it perfectly clear that "the system of Spinoza, denoted by Anaximander, is a web of vague suppositions without any proof" (p.111). Ramsay also added specific references to Spinoza outside his allegorical representation (pp.235–241); see also "Discours" pp.51 ff. and "Lettre de Fréret," p.104.

- 311 Ramsay, André-Michel de. The travels of Cyrus . . . To which is annex'd, A discourse upon the theology and mythology of the pagans . . . The fourth edition much enlarged. London: T. Woodward and J. Peele, 1730. 2 vols. Frontispiece, [2] l., 18, 356 p.; frontispiece, 243, [186] p. 19 ½ cm.

The fourth, much enlarged English edition of Chevalier Ramsay's utopia (293, 294) is a translation of the French edition of the same year (310).

1731

- 312 Des Maizeaux, Pierre. Das Leben des weltberuehmten Herrn Peter Bayle, wie solches zuerst in franzoesischer Sprache . . . aufgesetzt, und nunmehr, seiner Schoenheit und unzehliger Merckwuerdigkeiten wegen, ins Deutsche uebertragen von J.P. Kohl. . . . Hamburg: Koenig und Richter, 1731. [10] l., 459 p. 17 cm.

German translation of Des Maizeaux' *La vie de Mr. Bayle* (175, 319).

- 313 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. Vertheidigung seines Tractats Vera demonstratio evangelica &c. genannt gegen zwey unter sich selbst zwar widrig-gesinnte, aber doch hier zu einem Ziel lauffende Richter, naemlich den Barbarum Erdmann Neumeister, Pastor zu St.Jacob in Hamburg, und den Anti-Barbarum Dr. Joachim Langen, Professor Theologiae zu Halle. . . . N.p., 1731. [11] l., 264 p. 16 ½ cm.

Dippel's *Vera demonstratio* appeared in 1729 (304). Joachim Lange, Christian Wolff's fiery opponent at the University of Halle, wrote against it and now Dippel attacks him, pointing out with a good deal of irony that the consequence of Lange's positions is a viewpoint worse than Spinoza's (pp.130, 193, 198, 200, 204).

- 314 Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. Oeuvres philosophiques, ou Demonstration de l'existence de Dieu, tirée de l'art de la nature, dans la première partie: et dans la seconde, des preuves purement intellectuelles, & de l'idée de l'infini même . . . Nouvelle édition, où l'on a joint les Lettres du même auteur sur divers sujets concernant la religion & la metaphysique, & ses sermons. Amsterdam: Zacharie Chatelain, 1731. 2 vols. Portrait, [9] l., 368 p.; portrait, [5] l., 477 p. 15 ½ cm.

The edition of 1721 (254) further enlarged by the inclusion, among other writings, of *Lettres sur divers sujets*, 1718 (239).

- 315 Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe; François Lami; Henri de Boulainvilliers; (and Isaac Orobio de Castro). Refutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza par M. de Fenelon Archevêque de Cambray, par le P.Lami benedictin & par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers. Avec La vie de Spinoza, écrite par M. Jean Colerus . . . augmentée de beaucoup de particularités tirées d'une Vie manuscrite de ce philosophe, faite par un de ses amis. Brussels: François Foppens [Amsterdam], 1731. [5] l., 158, 483 (misprinted as 183), 2 p. 14 cm.

This volume was collected and edited by Abbé Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy 1731 (1674–1755), an independent man of letters who wrote profusely on philosophy, politics, history and literature. It starts out with a life story of Spinoza — preponderantly a compilation from the biography by Jean Colerus (157) augmented by material from *La vie de M. Benoît de Spinoza* by Jean Maximilien Lucas (d.1697) — which favored Spinoza and was distributed in manuscript copies after two printed editions of 1719 had been banned. It further contains a preface by Henri de Boulainvilliers, followed by his 320 page long *Réfutation de Spinoza*, which is really an exercise in favor of Spinoza (665); an extract from François Lami's *Le nouvel athéisme*, 1696 (114); and the extract of Fénelon's letter which had been appended to Lami's book. The collection concludes with a reprint of Isaac Orobiso de Castro's anti-Spinozistic *Certamen philosophicum* of 1703 (145).

Only ten pages of the collection are by Fénelon who is listed first among the contributors. No doubt the name of the respected prince of the church was used so prominently to make up for the rather suspect character of Boulainvilliers' so-called refutation of Spinoza.

- 316 [Tindal, Matthew]. Christianity as old as the creation: or, the Gospel, a republication of the religion of nature. . . . London, 1731. 8, 396 p. 15 ½ cm.

Matthew Tindal (1656–1733), member of All Souls College at Oxford, later a Senior of Oxford University, wrote a number of books denouncing the clergy

and defending freedom of the press. But none had so powerful an effect as his last work, *Christianity as old as the creation*, the "bible of English deism." On p. 309, Tindal asks "And is not Spirit, nay, the Spirit of God, taken, at least in twenty different senses in the Scripture?" and refers in this connection to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Isolated as this quote is, it supports the often expressed view that Tindal's critique of the Bible was strongly influenced by Spinoza.

1732

- 317 [Berkeley, George]. *Alciphron: or, The minute philosopher. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers. . . .* London: J. Tonson, 1732. 2 vols. [6] l., 350 p.; [4] l., 358 p. 19 ½ cm.

When George Berkeley (1685–1753), the Irish philosopher, returned from a three-year stay in America, he published *Alciphron*, most of which was written in Bermuda, to refute the English freethinkers, mainly Shaftesbury, Mandeville and Collins. His reference to Spinoza and the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (vol. 2, pp. 198 f.) does not reach beyond the ordinary argument that Spinoza's definition of natural right justifies man to do whatever he wants to do.

- 318 [Berkeley, George]. *Alciphron: or, The minute philosopher. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers. . . .* The second edition. London: J. Tonson, 1732. 2 vols. [7] l., 356 p.; [4] l., 351 p. 20 cm.

See my notes on the first edition (317).

- 319 Des Maizeaux, Pierre. *La vie de Mr. Bayle . . . Nouvelle edition.* The Hague: P. Gosse et J. Neaulme, 1732. 2 vols. [6] l., 345 p.; [1] l., 407 p. 16 cm.

Pierre Des Maizeaux (175) reports that Bayle, at his death, left a manuscript of philosophical lectures in which he strongly refuted Spinoza (vol. 2, p. 325).

- 320 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Etwas Neues, oder Retirade der Lutherischen Orthodoxie in eine neue von etlichen Leibnitzianischen Ingenieurs aufgeworfene Schantze, in welcher Peter Hansen und Friederich Wagner . . . mit achtzig erlaeuterten Grund-Fragen von der Lehre der Lutherischen Kirche, das Mittler-Amt Christi betreffend, und in einem Buch genannt: Christianus Democritus Autocatacritus, oder der sich selbst verurtheilende Democritus, den Democritum auf einen andern Kampf-Platz fordern, und also zum gegenwaertigen Bombardement denselben noethigen . . . Samt einer Vorrede, worinn die Thorheit und Schaedlichkeit der gewoehnlichen systematischen Lehr-art*

in allen Disciplinen dargethan, und als ein Haupt-Mangel der Realitaet angemerket wird. N.p., 1732. 216 p. 16 ½ cm.

In *Etwas Neues*, Dippel (193), attacking on fronts philosophical and theological, tries to demolish Leibnitz's principle of a pre-established harmony. In the process he berates the *esprits forts*, Spinoza among them, who believe foolishly that one infinite *principium activum*, extending itself through the equally infinite passive matter, is sufficient to explain the infinite modifications of the world and that therefore one indivisible substance represents the universe (pp. 41 ff.). But, Dippel declares, Spinoza makes more sense than Descartes (pp. 46 ff.) and Spinoza's concept of God shows a hundred times more God-ness than Leibnitz's monad (pp. 70 f.).

- 321 [Saint-Hyacinthe, Thémiseul de]. *Le chef d'oeuvre d'inconu, poëme heureusement découvert & mis au jour, avec des remarques savantes et recherchées, par M. le Docteur Chrisostome Matanasius. On trouve de plus une dissertation sur Homere & sur Chapelain; deux lettres sur des antiques; la preface de Cervantes sur l'Histoire de D. Quixotte de la Manche; la Deification d'Aristarchus Masso, & plusieurs autres choses non moins agréables qu'instructives . . . Sixieme edition, revûe, corrigée, augmentée, & diminuée . . .* The Hague: Pierre Husson, 1732. 2 vols. Portrait, [32] l., 1 leaf of musical notes, portrait, 528 p. (continual pagination), [10] l. 16 ½ cm.

The author, Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (1684–1746), was a soldier and writer whose original name was Hyacinthe Cordonnier, and who for some time was thought to be the illegitimate child of Bossuet. The *Chef d'oeuvre d'un inconu*, first published in 1714, is a parody on contemporary scholars and their erudite mannerisms. The edition of 1732 is the first to contain "La déification d'Aristarchus Masso," a satirical piece against J. Masson, the editor of the *Histoire critique de la république des lettres*, which contains a comparison between Hobbes and Spinoza, critical of Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 424 f.). Whereas, says Saint-Hyacinthe, Hobbes was a man of much esprit, made for philosophy, Spinoza had little genius, possessed scarcely the capacity of repeating Descartes from whom he took the bad, making it even worse.

- 322 *Miscellaneae observationes in auctores veteres et recentiores. Ab eruditissimis Britannis anno MDCCXXXI. edi coepti* (vols. 5 ff.; *Ab eruditissimis Britannis inchoatae, & nunc a doctis viris, in Belgio & aliis regionibus, continuatae*). . . . Amsterdam: Jansson-Waesberg, 1732–1739. 10 vols. 20 cm.

Miscellaneae observationes is a learned journal, edited by P. Burmannus and J. P. d'Orville, reporting on scholarly books and containing scholarly essays, mostly in the field of classical literature.

Volume 1, pp. 293–305 contains a review of Brampton Gurdon's Boyle lectures, *The pretended difficulties in natural or reveal'd religion*, 1723 (263), and their criticism of Spinoza's atheistic system.

1733

- 323 Colerus, Jean. Das Leben des Bened. von Spinoza, aus denen Schrifften dieses beruffenen Welt-Weisens und aus dem Zeugniß vieler glaubwuerdigen Personen, die ihn besonders gekannt haben, gezogen und beschrieben . . . nunmehr aber aus dem Frantzoesischen ins Hoch-Teutsche uebersetzt, und mit verschiedenen Anmerkungen vermehret. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1733. Portrait, 126 p. 17 cm.

German translation of Jean Colerus' *La vie de Spinoza*, 1706 (157). The identity of the translator and annotator is disputed; the Baer catalogue of Jacob Freudenthal's Spinoza collection, Frankfurt-am-Main, [1911], no. 168, names Johann Faccius. Whoever the annotator was, the tenor of his comments differs from that of the author. While Colerus' judgments were balanced, the tone of the preface and the comments of the translator reflect the mind of a Spinoza-baiter.

The portrait (Altkirch, *Spinoza im Portraet*, 1913, no. 34) is a badly done version of the engraving found in a few copies of the *Opera posthuma* (696). It shows in the upper left corner a serpent biting its own tail and carries in Latin the following caption: "Benedictus de Spinoza of Amsterdam — by nation and profession a Jew who later joined a circle of Christians — architect of the first system among the more penetrating atheists — eventually when he concluded in The Hague his unhappy life as master of the atheists of our age he bore in his face the sign of reprobation . . ." Again, this caption is in the spirit of the translator, not the author.

- 324 Crousaz, Jean Pierre de. Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien & moderne. . . . The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1733. [11] l., 776 p., [6] l.; plates. 39 cm.

This volume by Jean Pierre de Crousaz (198), not accidentally in the format of Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (117), examines all of Bayle's writings at tiring length and finds that Bayle is a modern Pyrrhonist, which means an atheist and amoralist. Naturally, Bayle's treatment of Spinoza is a main reason for this assertion though sometimes Bayle is given recognition for proper criticism of Spinoza's views. The index lists all the references to Spinoza.

- 325 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. Quo, moriture, ruis, Peter Hanssen! siste triumphos, Democritum miseret, te dare, caece, neci. Das ist Abgezwungene fatale

Abfertigung der absurden Prahlerey, mit welcher Hr. Peter Hanssen . . . noch unueberwindlich gegen den Democritum das Feld zu maintainieren sich und andere persuadiren will, und folglich diesen noethiget, seiner garnicht mehr zu schonen, sondern ihn so darzustellen, wie er es verlanget hat. Nebst einem Anhang: Von der Beauté und Galanterie derer heutigen Gelehrten, auf franzoesisch genennet: des beaux esprits, sans bon sens; zu teutsch aber: sehr fein geschliffene lieb- und lob-reiche Hasen-Koepfe und Schmeichler. Durch den nun immer teutscher redenden Christianum Democritum. N.p., 1733. 174 p. 16 ½ cm.

Peter Hanssen, the theologian in Holstein, Germany, against whom Dippel (193) had written *Etwas Neues* in 1732 (320), did not take Dippel's attack lying down. In 1733 he published a book "to continue the duel" and now Dippel on his part resumes the fighting. (The speed with which authors of the 18th century concocted their polemical writings and with which the printers, without the benefit of linotype machines, worked is astounding!)

The lines of attack are the same, only the vilification has become more vitriolic. Hanssen practices fraud, posing as an orthodox, says Dippel; he is in truth a Spinozistic atheist who leads people into a life without God (pp. 59 ff.), and in his stupidity and malice he leaves radical Spinozism far behind (p. 103). Every philosopher — Wolff is a prime example — who holds that the essence of things is eternal is bound to end in Spinoza's atheism (pp. 47 ff.). Leibnitz and Wolff, proposing a *harmonia praestabilita*, "the pigs' excrements of the new philosophy," act worse than Spinoza (pp. 51 ff.) and Descartes, Malebranche, Wolff, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Hobbes, Vanini, etc. are more stupid than all Arcadian peasants when they try to formulate concepts of God without using their senses and without possessing an immediate sensual experience of God. Though starting from different basic principles, their aim is the same, namely to separate man from God and overthrow religion as well as ethics, jurisprudence, and even physics (p. 124).

See also my notes on Hanssen, *Drey Wahrheiten*, 1734 (328).

- 326 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. Christianus Democritus ein aufrichtiger Protestant gegen ein in verwichener Leipziger Jubilate-Messe ihm faelschlich zugeschrriebenes Scriptum. Und ein orthodoxer Annihilator oder Zernichter der in diesem Scripto gleichfalls aus Nichts aufgebaueten so genannten Microcosmischen neuen Schoepffung zum Vorspiel eines neuen Himmels und einer neuen Erde. . . . N.p., 1733. 120 p. 16 ½ cm.

In 1733 an anonymous book, *Microcosmische Vorspiele des neuen Himmels und der neuen Erde*, appeared and was announced by its publisher to be a work by Dippel (193). In *Ein aufrichtiger Protestant* Dippel denies being the author of

this *Scriptum chymicum* which followed the tradition of Jacob Boehme. Though not completely opposed to the ideas of Boehme and his followers, Dippel finds many concepts in the *Microcosmische Vorspiele* dangerous and worse than Spinoza's and fears that if he allowed the book to be connected with his name the label of Spinozism could be rightly attached to him (pp. 8, 14, 57–66, 84, 119).

- 327 **Walch**, Johann Georg. Historische und theologische Einleitung in die Religions-Streitigkeiten, welche sonderlich ausser der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche entstanden. . . . Jena: Johann Meyer's Wittw, 1733–1736. 5 vols. (vol. 1 in 3rd edition). [13] l., 743, [21] p.; [24] l., 1148 p., [26] l.; [8] l., 1126 p., [45] l.; [8] l., 1150 p., [32] l.; 825, [69] p. 17 cm.

In this history of religious controversies Johann Georg Walch (287) discusses Spinoza and Spinozists in many places, the most important of which are: vol. 1, pp. 684 (Spinoza and angels); 685 (prophecy); 685 f. (miracles); 688 (anti-Spinozistic literature); vol. 3, pp. 779 f. (Descartes a Spinozist?); 780–784 (Cartesian theologians and Spinoza); 903–924 (Leenhof's Spinozism and the Leenhof controversy); 924–930 (Wilhelm Deurhof); vol. 5, pp. 36–38 (Cabala and Spinozism); 65–70 (Spinoza and his followers); 75 (Toland's Spinozism); 77–81 (Th. L. Lau); 101–103 (The Spinozistic system); 126–128 (Morality according to Spinoza); 149 f. (Spinoza's works); 168–173 (Anti-Spinozistic writings); 198 (Spinoza's refutation of miracles); 218–220 (Spinoza's views on prophecy); 222 (Spinoza and the authority of the Scriptures).

See also my notes on Walch's *Einleitung in die polemische Gottesgelahrtheit*, 1752 (453).

1734

- 328 **Hanssen**, Peter. . . . Drey Wahrheiten, welche in Vernunft und Schrift gegruendet; von rechtschaffenen Gottes-Gelehrten der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen erkannt und behauptet; und jetzo wieder die alberne Einwendungen des grossen Windmachers Johann Conrad Dippels, vertaeditet werden. Als nemlich 1. Dass die Wesen der Dinge ewig und unveraenderlich. 2. Dass die Empfindungen des Gemuehts aus Begriffen gezeuget werden und sich nach selbigen richten. 3. Dass die Seelen-Ruhe nicht ohne den Begriff von der Vergebung der Suenden: und dieser nicht ohne das Erkenntnues des Mittler-Amts Jesu Christi in unsrem Geist entstehen koenne. Nebst einer Vorrede, darin dasjenige, was J. C. Dippel sonst in der neulichst herausgegebenen so genannten fatalen Abfertigung etc. zu Papier gebracht, mit wenigem beantwortet wird. Hamburg: Philip Hertel, 1734. 173 p. (misprinted as 117). 16 ½ cm.

Peter Hanssen had been the target of Johann Conrad Dippel's invective in the latter's *Etwas Neues*, 1732 (320) and *Quo moriture . . . Abgezwungenen fatale*

Abfertigung, 1733 (325). In *Drey Wahrheiten* Hanssen squares accounts with Dippel, "the great windbag," and labels Dippel a Spinozist (pp. 51, 55 ff., 61 ff., 70 ff.).

- 329 **Lange**, Joachim. Hundert und dreyssig Fragen aus der neuen mechanischen Philosophie: deroelben parteiischen Liebhabern zu einer solchen Beantwortung, welche dem also genanten, und von ihnen so hoch geruehmten, principio rationis sufficientis, des zureichenden Grundes, gemaess sey; den unparteiischen Lesern aber zur freyen und vernuenftigen Beurtheilung, mit freymuethiger Bescheidenheit vorgeleget. Halle: Fritzsche Buchhandlung, 1734. 168 p. 19 ½ cm.

When in 1733 rumors were published that the King of Prussia was preparing the revocation of his order of 1723, by which he had banned Christian Wolff from Prussia (273) and even considered recalling him to the University of Halle, Joachim Lange, Wolff's old enemy, issued his *Hundert und dreyssig Fragen*, a resume of his often uttered grievances against the Wolffian philosophy. But the King forbade Lange to write any more books attacking Wolff since they caused only "new noise and unnecessary quarreling" and ordered him to concentrate on his teaching.

A considerable part of Lange's book aims at showing that Wolff's "mechanical philosophy" is Spinozism, see preface, p. 8, and pp. 8, 10, 40 f., 46–50 (Andala and Spinoza), 59, 63 (Leibnitz's and Wolff's pre-established harmony is a Spinozistic idea), 72–82, 84, 88, 98 f., 107 f., 112, 115, 120, 122, 137 f., 146, 149 f.

See also my notes on Lange, *Kurtzer Abriss*, 1736 (338).

- 330 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. Heilige Reden ueber wichtige Wahrheiten der Lehre Jesu Christi. . . . Hamburg: Theodor Christoff Felginers Wittwe, 1734–1736. 4 vols. (vol. 1 in fifth, vol. 2 in fourth, vol. 3 in third edition). Portrait, [15] l., 272 p.; [16] l., 288 p.; [19] l., 488 p.; [12] l., 398 p. 17 cm.

Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (260) was one of the great preachers of his time. *Heilige Reden*, a collection of Mosheim's sermons, contains *Die elende Thorheit der Religions-Spoetter*, a sermon preached against the atheists. In it he thunders against Spinoza: "Is there anything more ridiculous than saying in earnest that this world is God; this dust on which we tread belongs to God's essence; that rabbits, dogs, mosquitoes are *modi* of God?" (vol. 2, p. 174 ff.).

- 331 **Leibnitz**, Gottfried Wilhelm. . . . Epistolae ad diversos, theologici, iuridici, medici, philosophici, mathematici, historici et philologici argumenti, & msc. autoris cum annotationibus suis primum divulgavit Christian. Kortholtus . . . Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1734–1742. 4 vols. Portrait, [15] l., 467, [21] p.; 504 p., [4] l.; [16] l., 476 p., [9] l.; 416 p., [6] l. 18 cm.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (241), corresponded with Spinoza and visited him in 1676. This first edition of his letters contains, vol. 4, pp. 346–348, Leibnitz's letter to Spinoza of October 5, 1671 and Spinoza's answer, the original of which is in the Library of Hanover. References to Spinoza appear in letters to Jacob Thomasius (vol. 3, p. 63) and Michael Gottlieb Hansch (p. 498); in *Philosophie chinoise* (vol. 2, pp. 427, 435); and in a letter of La Croze to Sebastian Kortholt (p. 498).

1735

- 332 **Bible.** Die goettlichen Schriften vor den Zeiten des Messie Jesus. Der erste Theil worinnen die Gesetze der Jsraelen enthalten sind nach einer freyen Ubersetzung welche durch und durch mit Anmerkungen erlaeutert und bestaetigt wird. Wertheim: Johann Georg Nehr, 1735. 1040, [1] p. 21 cm.

Johann Lorenz Schmidt (1702–1749), a Wolffian who had also studied pietistic and deistic writings and those of Spinoza, translated the Old Testament into German after submitting the text to rational examination. The result was the *Wertheim Bible* (only the Pentateuch was published), a pedantically rationalistic version, accompanied by rationalistic explanations of equal pedantry.

Immediately upon publication of the well printed and beautifully vignnetted work, Schmidt, at that time a private tutor at the court of the Count of Wertheim, became the center of hot controversy. The orthodox, among them Joachim Lange, well-known adversary of Christian Wolff and his school, denounced the anonymous *Wertheimer* and his translation as atheistic and filled with all the distortions Spinoza had taught. The sale of the book was prohibited and eventually, in 1737, the Emperor ordered the arrest of Schmidt and the confiscation of the work. Schmidt escaped via Holland to Altona where he lived under an assumed name, doing the first German translation of Spinoza's *Ethica* (698). His book did not escape; its confiscation was so successful that it has become almost *introuvable*. Schmidt died in Wolfenbuettel, where asylum had been granted to him.

The numerous writings pro and con are collected in Sinnhold, *Ausfuehrliche Historie der verruffenen sogenannten Wertheimischen Bibel*, 1739 (371) and an anonymous *Sammlung*, 1738 (363).

- 333 **C., M.A.F.** Lettres sur les Hollandois. London, 1735. [1] l., 45, [1] p. 15 cm.

The author of this rare booklet is unknown. R. Murris, *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle vue par les Français*, Paris, 1925 lists it, but knows only that it has been erroneously ascribed to Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais. This writer, author of *Le Hollandois, ou Lettres sur*

la Hollande (355), defended himself against the allegation of authorship in the "Discours préliminaire" of his book, and his publisher verified this denial in a special announcement.

One understands that Beaumarchais was eager to reject any association with the little book. It pictures the Dutch as narrow-minded and dull money-greedy people, and the reception it received from them was anything but friendly. The eleventh letter, pp. 37–39, followed by one on sea worms which destroy the Dutch dams, deals with Spinoza. A naive and superficial account, it looks like a remote reflection of Bayle's thoughts.

- 334 **Ruehl, Leonhard Christoph.** Menagiana, Perroniana, und Thuana, oder sonderbare Merkwuerdigkeiten von Gelehrten und ihren Schriften. Aus diesen dreien in Ana sich endigenden Sammlungen herausgezogen und den Liebhabern derselben in deutscher Sprache mitgetheilet. Nebst einer Vorrede von dem allerschlimmesten Buche. Braunschweig: Rengerische Buchhandlung, 1735. 216 p. 17 cm.

This German collection from various *Ana* by Leonhard Christoph Ruehl is arranged alphabetically. The Spinoza entry from *Menagiana* (105, 307) is on p. 203. It includes a reference to the criticism of Ménage's report by Noël Argonne (276).

The preface, which deals with "the worst book of all," i.e. *De tribus impostoribus* (665, 667) mentions Spinoza's writings as among the worst books (pp. 3, 19).

- 335 **The Young Gentleman** instructed in the grounds of the Christian religion. In three dialogues, between a young gentleman and his tutor. . . . London: T. Meighan, 1735. 11, [1], 155, [1] p. 17 cm.

This book of no literary and little theological value is directed at the "young gentlemen of these nations" who because of the advantage of their birth or fortune are "being set above the level of other mortals." The anonymous author aims at demonstrating to them the falseness of the teachings of atheism, deism and freethought in which Spinoza's, of course, are included (pp. 2 f.).

1736

- 336 **[Bachstrohm, Johann Friedrich].** Christiani Democriti Redivivi Umstaendliche Erzehlung, wie es mit seinem vermeinten Tode zugegangen sey, und wie er nebst seiner neuen Gesellschaft ietzt in seiner Einsamkeit den Fall Adams und Ursprung der Suende und alles Boesen gantz anders und besser als vormahls eingesehen. Gedruckt auf dem Johannis-Berge in der Wuesten, 1736. Frontispiece, 116, 296 p. 16 ½ cm.

Johann Friedrich Bachstrophm (1686–1742) was a follower of Johann Conrad Dippel (193) in more than one way. Utilizing Dippel's pen name, and imitating his baroque style, he called himself *Christianus Democritus Redivivus*. Like Dippel, he was a radical pietist as well as an alchemist and physician; and like his master he spent his life in many countries engaged in dubious activities. At one time he was a printer in Constantinople issuing Christian religious books for distribution among the Turks. He committed suicide in a Polish prison where he had been held for high treason.

Bachstrophm sees Spinoza's "evil thoughts" as the outgrowth of his concentration on Descartes' concept of mathematical extension (pp. 145 ff., 220 f.).

- 337 [Dippel, Johann Conrad]. *Christiani Democriti Kranckheit und Artzney des animalischen Lebens, wie beyde in einer physisch-medicinischen Untersuchung ihrem wahrem Ursprunge wieder zugeeignet, zugleich aber die Thorheiten des Mechanismi und Spinosismi aus dem Grunde entdeckt, mit augenscheinlichen Beweiss-Gruenden aus dem Bezirck der gesunden Vernunft verstossen, und ein voelliges Systema aller Bewegung in einem kurtzen Zusammenhange dargestellt worden. Aus dem Lateinischen von neuen uebersetzt, mit umstaendlicher Beschreibung aller chymischen und medicinischen Experimenten des Autoris, die vorhin in diesem Tractat nur mit wenig Worten bemerckt gewesen, wie auch mit einem angehaengten curiosen, und nach den Becherischen und Stahlischen Grundsuetzen ausgefuehrten Bedencken von dem einfaltigen und wahren Grunde der Zerlegung, Zusammensetzung, Verbesserung und Veraenderung der Metallen: nebst dem dazu gehoerigen Experimental-Beweise, wie ein ehrlicher Mann, ohne Dienst und Amt seinen Unterhalt vor sich selbst jederzeit erwerben koenne: vermehret, und mit einem zureichlichen Register versehen. Von einem unpartheyischen Liebhaber der Wahrheit. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Leopold Montag, 1736. [15] l., 412 p., [38] l. 16 1/2 cm.*

Another German translation of Dippel's *Vitae animalis morbus et medicina* (289) with annotations and additions by the anonymous translator.

- 338 Lange, Joachim [and Johann Gustav Reinbeck]. *Kurtzer Abriss derjenigen Lehr-Saetze, welche in der Wolffischen Philosophie der natuerlichen und geoffenbahrten Religion nachtheilig sind, ja sie gar aufheben, und geraden Weges, obwohl bey vieler gesuchten Verdeckung zur Atheisterey verleiten; auf hohen Befehl verfasst von D. Joachim Langen . . . Nebst des Regierungs-Raths Wolffs vermuthlichen Antwort darauf [von Johann Gustav Reinbeck]. N.p., 1736. [4] l., 52 p. 17 1/2 cm.*

In 1734 it appeared that the drawn-out "Lange-Wolff controversy" (265, 266, 272, 273, 274, 280, 285, 286) had finally come to its end: the King of Prussia had

ordered Joachim Lange to discontinue the polemic (329). But Lange was not a man to be silenced even by royal edict. In April, 1735, the King appointed a special commission charged with reexamining the writings of Christian Wolff. Lange rushed to see the King and convince him of the dangers inherent in rehabilitating his enemy. All Lange achieved was permission to submit his arguments in writing. He did so in *Kurtzer Abriss*. There is not a bit in Lange's presentation that had not been said by him before.

The answer to Lange's resume is by Johann Gustav Reinbeck (1682–1741), a theologian and philosopher in Berlin. Reinbeck was one of the three members of the commission whose recommendation led in 1739 to Wolff's formal readmission to Prussia and a Prussian university.

- 339 Radicati, Alberto, Conte di Passerano. *Recueil de piéces curieuses sur les matieres les plus interessantes*. Rotterdam: La veuve Thomas Johnson et fils, 1736. 10, 384 p. 19 cm.

Alberto Radicati Conte di Passerano e Cocconato (1698–1737), was an Italian freethinker. A convert to Calvinism, he fled from Italy in 1726, lived for a while in England, where he published a number of deist writings, and died in Holland in misery.

The *Recueil* includes, among others, translations of Jonathan Swift's ironical *Project concerning babies* and a satirical *Récit fidelle et comique de la religion des canibales modernes* in praise of Machiavelli. The opening collection of moral, historical and political discourses asserts that there are no genuine atheists except fools and that all "speculative atheists," including Spinoza, are in truth deists recognizing a first cause under such names as God, nature, eternal germs, movement or universal soul (pp. 24 f.).

- 340 [Argens, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d']. *Lettres juives, ou correspondance philosophique, historique, et critique, entre un juif voyageur à Paris & ses correspondans en divers endroits*. Amsterdam: Paul Gautier, 1736–1737. 6 vols. 332 p.; [6] l., 347 p.; [4] l., 365 p.; 16, 382 p.; frontispiece, [11] l., 400 p.; [8] l., 464 p. 16 cm.

A young diplomat and soldier from the Provence, the Marquis d'Argens (1703–1771), left his native country to live in Holland among her *philosophes* and *littérateurs*; there he wrote his first book – the *Lettres juives*. Later in Berlin, as a member of the French entourage which Frederick the Great had assembled, he served as director of the philosophical section of the Prussian Academy.

His *Lettres juives*, a fictitious correspondence between prominent Jews, shows d'Argens' interest in Spinoza, evidenced also in many of his subsequent works, such as *La philosophie du bon-sens*, 1737 (341); *Mémoires secrets*, 1744 (401); *Lettres chinoises*, 1739–1740 (372); *Histoire de l'esprit*, 1765 (500); and *Lettres cabalistiques*, 1769–1770 (522). He is opposed to Spinoza's concept of God:

"a knavish God has killed an honest God" (vol. 1, pp. 323 f.; see also vol. 3, p. 213) and intrigued by the story of the fellow-Jews attempting to kill Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 129 f.).

An enlarged edition of the *Lettres* appeared in 1764 (497) and an English translation in 1739–1740 under the title *The Jewish Spy* (373).

1737

- 341 **Argens**, Jean Baptiste de Boyer d'. La philosophie du bon-sens, ou réflexions philosophiques sur l'incertitude des connoissances humaines, à l'usage des cavaliers et du beau-sexe. London: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1737. 12, 444 p., [33] l. 16 cm.

This work is the most systematic of d'Argens' writings (340) and expresses best his enlightened skepticism. Two chapters deal expressly with Spinoza, "Réfutation du dogme de l'âme du monde, et du système de Spinoza," pp. 239 ff., and "Que les principales preuves de Spinoza sont tirées du système de Des-Cartes," pp. 303 ff. As a start d'Argens attempts to trace the motives for Spinoza's reasoning (pp. 232–239), he casually discusses Spinoza in other contexts (pp. 284 f., 302, 363), and repeats the old story of Spinoza being attacked by a fellow-Jew (p. 419).

A German translation appeared in 1756 (478).

- 342 **Bayle**, Pierre. Oeuvres diverses . . . contenant tout ce que cet auteur a publié sur des matières de théologie, de philosophie, de critique, d'histoire, & de littérature; excepté son Dictionnaire historique et critique. Nouvelle édition considérablement augmentée. Où l'on trouvera plusieurs ouvrages du même auteur, qui n'ont point encore été imprimés. The Hague: Compagnie des libraires, 1737. 4 vols. [18] l., 760, 211 p.; [12] l., 882 p.; [8] l., 1084 p.; [10] l., 1044 p. 38 cm.

The collected works of Pierre Bayle (45) contain all his printed writings except his *Dictionnaire* (117), and some previously unpublished items. In addition to his discussions of Spinoza in the *Pensées diverses* (45), the *Continuation des Pensées diverses* (150) and the *Lettres* of 1714 (212), the *Oeuvres diverses* deal with Spinoza at various places: vol. 1, p. 561 (Thomassin on the Spinozistic character of Stoicism); pp. 616, 718 (Simon, Dupin and Spinoza); vol. 2, p. 859; vol. 3, pp. 117, 226, 329 (*Pensées diverses*); vol. 4, p. 134 (Spinoza's substance); p. 164 (authorship of the preface to *Opera*); pp. 169 f. (*Lettre de l'auteur . . . sur la question s'il a bien ou mal compris la doctrine de Spinoza*); p. 574 (on the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*); p. 577 (Bayle's buying of Spinoza's books); p. 875 f. (Corrections of Colerus' biography; Spinoza and Condé).

- 343 **Bertram**, Johann Friedrich. Eusebii Ulmigenae Send-Schreiben an einen guten Freund von dem Wolfischen Fato, das ist: von der mechanischen Verknüpfung und Nothwendigkeit aller Dinge, nach der Wolfischen Lehre von der Welt und dem Zusammenhang der Dinge in der Welt. Samt dessen Reflexions [sic] ueber den jesuitischen und auslaendischen Beyfall, der Wolfischen Philosophie. Bremen: Nathanael Saurmann, 1737. [2] l., 172 p. 17 cm.

Johann Friedrich Bertram (1699–1741), a German theologian and historian, reiterates with a vigor worth a less tired cause the arguments and counter-arguments which were bandied through the long run of the "Lange-Wolff controversy" (265, 266, 272–274, 280, 285, 286, 329, 338). As a faithful follower of Lange he once more categorically states that Christian Wolff's philosophy is mechanistic and fatalistic and therefore Spinozistic (pp. 1 ff., 8, 10, 16 f., 109). Furthermore, Wolff is blamed for following Spinoza and van Leenhof in teaching that man can achieve "heaven on earth" and become like God by using his natural powers (p. 149). The *Reflexiones*, in which this accusation appears, mainly tries to show that the success of Wolff's books in Germany and abroad is not indicative of their true value. There are, says Bertram, many secret Spinozists around who have no access to Spinoza's rare books and therefore can still their thirst only by drinking from the "Spinozistic dung-pools" in Wolff's writings (p. 165).

- 344 **[Boyle lectures]**. A defence of natural and revealed religion: being an abridgment (by Gilbert Burnet) of the sermons preached at the lecture founded by the Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle, Esq; . . . London: Arthur Bettesworth and Charles Hitch, 1737. 3 vols. [2] l., 483, [1] p.; [2] l., 532 p.; [2] l., 413, [1] p. 20 cm.

Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the famous English scientist and natural philosopher, established in his last will the Boyle Lectures, to defend the Christian religion against "notorious infidels, viz., atheists, theists, pagans, Jews and Mahomedans."

Two of the preachers whose abridged lectures appear in this collection — Samuel Clark in his *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God* (189) and Brampton Gurdon in his *The pretended difficulties in natural or reveal'd religion* (263) — concentrated on refuting Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 81–184; vol. 3, pp. 311–418). John Hancock's *On natural and revealed religion*, abridged in vol. 2, pp. 185–226, deals with Spinoza more casually.

- 345 **Budde**, Johannes Franz. Theses theologiae de atheismo et superstitione variis observationibus illustratae et in usum recitationum academicarum editae. Suas

quoque observationes et dissertationem contra atheos adjecit Hadrianus Buurt. Utrecht: I. H. Vonk van Lynden, 1737. [18] l., 625, [21] p. 19 1/2 cm.

A new edition of Budde's *Theses* (231) augmented by Hadrian Buurt's insignificant dissertation.

- 346 D[eslandes, André François Boureau]. *Histoire critique de la philosophie. Où l'on traite de son origine, de ses progrès, et des diverses revolutions qui lui sont arrivées jusqu'à notre tems.* Amsterdam: François Changuion, 1737. 3 vols. Frontispiece, [5] l., 38 p., [3] l., 374 p.; [6] l., 447 p.; [6] l., 345 p. 15 cm.

This critical history of philosophy by André François Boureau Deslandes (1690–1757), a civil servant, is a first in French literature inasmuch as it regards, though not necessarily succeeds in presenting, the history of philosophy as the history of the human spirit on the highest level of its development.

Deslandes' general view is that although Spinoza gave a geometrical tone to the philosophy which holds that matter and God are identical, he derived most of his impious views from the Jewish cabalists (vol. 1, pp. 177 ff.). According to Deslandes, Spinoza himself concedes that his system basically stems from the oldest philosophers (p. 253; see also vol. 2, p. 59).

- 347 's Gravesande, Wilhelm Jacob. *Introductio ad philosophiam; metaphysicam et logicam continens.* Editio altera. Leiden: Johan and Herman Verbeek, 1737. [5] l., 375 p. 15 1/2 cm.

Wilhelm Jacob 's Gravesande (1688–1742), professor of philosophy at the University of Leiden, was influenced by both Newton and Locke. But when he in the first edition of his *Introductio*, in 1736, defined free will as man's faculty to do what he wants to do, whatever the determinations of his will may be, he was promptly accused of crass Spinozism (in *Lettre à M. G. J. 's Gravesande*, Amsterdam, 1736, by an anonymous English writer). To negate the accusation which others repeated, 's Gravesande inserted three new passages, pp. 170–172, in the second edition. See his *Monitum de hac secundâ editione*, also pp. 51–56, and the detailed report on the controversy in Prosper Marchand, *Dictionnaire historique*, 1757–1758, vol. 2, pp. 238 f. (486).

- 348 Koethen, Johann Jacob. *Principia quaedam metaphysicae Wolfianae variis observationibus illustrata. Accedunt . . . Theses metaphysicae Leibnitianae . . . ; necnon epistolae duae, quarum prima agit de philosophiae Wolfianae praestantiâ; altera de ejusdem philosophiae usu in refutandis erroribus veritati religionis christianae oppositis.* Geneva: Pellissari, 1737. 32, 206 p. 16 1/2 cm.

Johann Jacob Koethen (d. 1741), pastor of the German Protestant church in Geneva, demonstrated in many books that he was a faithful defender of

Wolffian doctrine. In this one, he uses his casual notes on Wolff's metaphysics to assert that Wolff's theses, for example, his concept of the *nexus rerum*, do not imply Spinozistic tendencies (pp. xix, xxi, 17, 27 ff., 57 f.).

- 349 [Lange, Samuel Gotthold]. *Vollstaendige Sammlung aller derer Schrifften, welche in der Langischen und Wolffischen Streitigkeit im Monat Junio 1736, auf hohen Befehl abgefasst worden. Mit Veramanders Anmerckungen versehen, und zum Druck befoerdert von J. F. H. Marburg, 1737.* 264 p. 17 cm.

Another Lange joins the vendetta against Christian Wolff! Using the pen name Veramander, Samuel Gotthold Lange (1711–1781), Joachim's third son, a pastor and minor poet whose fame rests on the merciless critical beating given him by Lessing, compiled this volume to bolster the elder Lange's faltering campaign. The book contains a reprint of Joachim Lange's *Kurtzer Abriss* and Reinbeck's answer (338), Wolff's reply, and other materials related to the reexamination of Wolff's philosophy by a royal commission, each of them annotated by the younger Lange.

- 350 Ludovici, Carl Guenther. *Ausfuehrlicher Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie, zum Gebrauche seiner Zuhoerer herausgegeben. . . .* Leipzig: Johann Georg Loewe, 1737–1738. 3 vols. (vol. 1: Dritte weit vermehrte . . . Auflage). Portrait, [17] l., 376 p., [12] l.; frontispiece, [6] l., 656 p., [16] l.; [16] l., 450 p., [19] l.; plates. 17 1/2 cm.

Carl Guenther Ludovici (1707–1778), professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, in the three volumes of this detailed survey of Christian Wolff's writings and the history of his philosophy, lists the books written in support of and against Wolff. The work contains a full running account of the controversy which arose, and lasted for years, when Wolff was accused of Spinozistic leanings (vol. 1, pp. 195, 208 ff., 224, 228, 250 ff., 289, 336; vol. 2, pp. 106 f., 167, 224, 318 f., 550 f.; vol. 3, pp. 24, 36, 110 ff., 131 f., 369). See also my notes on 351.

- 351 Ludovici, Carl Guenther. *Sammlung und Auszuege der saemmtlichen Streit-schrifften wegen der Wolffischen Philosophie, zur Erlaeuterung der bestrittenen Leibnitzischen und Wolffischen Lehrsaeetze. . . . mit kurtzen Anmerckungen. . . .* Erster Theil. Leipzig: Born, 1737. [8] l., 297, [5] p. 16 1/2 cm.

This collection by Ludovici, which supplements his *Ausfuehrlicher Entwurf einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie*, 1737 f. (350), contains summaries of his polemical writings occasioned by the controversy about Wolff's alleged atheism and Spinozism. It quotes Wolff arguing against Spinoza's determinism (p. 72); Wolff defending Spinoza's character (pp. 79 f.); the faculty of the University of Tuebingen absolving Wolff of open Spinozism (p. 165);

Johann Bernhard Wiedeburg and Gottlieb Stolle following the same line (pp.174 ff.); and Arnold Nolte (pp.190 f.) and Veramander, i.e. Samuel Gotthold Lange (pp.258 ff.) declaring Wolff guilty of opening the door to Spinozism.

- 352 **Ludovici**, Carl Guenther. *Ausfuhrlicher Entwurff einer vollstaendigen Historie der Leibnitzischen Philosophie zum Gebrauch seiner Zuhoerer herausgegeben*. . . . Leipzig: Johann Georg Loewe, 1737. Portrait, [5] l., 521, [16] p., plates, 16 1/2 cm.

Ludovici's work parallels his similarly organized *Ausfuhrlicher Entwurff einer vollstaendigen Historie der Wolffischen Philosophie*, 1737 f. (350). It reprints a letter of Leibnitz to Spinoza and Spinoza's answer (pp.337 ff.) and a letter of Leibnitz to Conring dealing with Descartes and Spinoza (pp.350 f.); see also p.315.

- 353 **Wolff**, Christian. *Theologia naturalis, methodo scientifica pertractata. Pars posterior, qua existentia et attributa Dei ex notione entis perfectissimi et naturae animae demonstrantur, et atheismi, deismi, fatalismi, naturalismi, Spinosismi aliorumque de Deo errorum fundamenta subvertuntur*. Frankfurt und Leipzig: Renger, 1737. [10] l., 736 p., [10] l. 21 cm.

For fourteen years Christian Wolff had written, often in quick succession, polemical books and pamphlets to defend himself against the accusation of teaching Spinozism (265, 266, 273). Now that the controversy had ended with his official vindication, Wolff for the first time presents, as part of his *Natural theology*, a systematic refutation of Spinoza's system (pp.672–730; see also on p.509 his remark on Spinoza and fatalism).

A German translation of *Theologia naturalis* appeared in 1742 ff. (394). Another German translation of Wolff's refutation of Spinoza appeared in conjunction with Johann Lorenz Schmidt's German translation of Spinoza's *Ethica* (698).

1738

- 354 **Bayle**, Pierre. *The dictionary historical and critical*. . . . The second edition . . . To which is prefixed, the life of the author, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by Mr Des Maizeaux . . . Volume the fifth. S-Z. London: D. Midwinter, etc., 1738. [2] l., 872, 143 p. 37 cm.

English translation of the volume of Bayle's *Dictionaire* (117, 141) in which the Spinoza article appears.

- 355 **Beaumarchais**, Antoine de la Barre de. *Le Hollandois, ou lettres sur la Hollande ancienne et moderne*. . . . Seconde edition. Suivant la copie imprimée à Francfort chez François Varrentrapp, 1738. [20] l., 376 p. 15 1/2 cm.

Antoine de la Barre de Beaumarchais (1688–ca.1757), French ex-clergyman and writer, refutes the rumors and assertions that he was also the author of *Lettres sur les Hollandois*, 1735 (333). On pp.293 f. he cites an unnamed citizen of Rotterdam who, though not a professional philosopher, in order to refute the system of Spinoza, reduced it to geometric demonstrations and did better than Spinoza himself. The reference is to Johann Bredenburg and his *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici; unâ cum demonstratione, geometrico ordine dispositâ, naturam non esse Deum*, 1675 (21).

- 356 **Clarke**, Samuel. *A discourse concerning the being and attributes of God, the obligations of natural religion, and the truth and certainty of the Christian revelation*. In answer to Mr. Hobbs, Spinoza, the author of the Oracles of reason, and other deniers of natural and revealed religion. Being sixteen sermons, preach'd in the Cathedral-church of St. Paul, in the years 1704, and 1705, at the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle . . . The ninth edition. London: John and Paul Knapton, 1738. [12] l., 504 p. 19 1/2 cm.

See my notes on the edition of 1711 (189).

- 357 **[Edelmann, Johann Christian]**. *Unschuldiger Wahrheiten Dreyzehende (und Vierzehende) Unterredung*. . . . (Dreyzehende Unterredung in welcher die Einwuerffe beantwortet werden, so theils von aufrichtigen Freunden der Wahrheit, theils von annoch furchtsamen Verehrern vaeterlicher Meynungen, in der Materie von der Unsundlichkeit der Wiedergebohrnen, bissher gemacht worden . . . Nebst einer ausfuhrlichen historischen Vorrede von den bisherigen Schicksalen dieser Schrifften. Vierzehenden Unterredung, in welcher die Lehre von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge, als der Grund-Articul aller Religion, aus unumstoesslichen Zeugnissen der Vernunft, der Heil-Schrifft, und dem Beyfall der aeltesten und reinsten Kirchen-Lehrer betrachtet, und handgreifflich gewiesen wird, dass kein einiger Articul vom gantzen Christenthum bestehen kan, wo dieser Grund geleugnet wird.) [Frankfurt: Cronau], 1738. 2 vols. 483, [5] p.; 284 p., [2] l. 16 1/2 cm.

Johann Christian Edelmann (1698–1767) was one of the early radicals in German Enlightenment. For a while, as an active pietist, he lived in Berleburg, the seat of the "quiet and pious." He left them when, under the influence of English deism and free-thought, his ideas changed. But the philosophy which most of his writings advocated developed only when in 1740 he began to read Spinoza. For years he lived, wandering from city to city, hated and persecuted as a Spinozist and for his total rejection of historical Christian religion.

The first twelve of the *Unschuldige Wahrheiten*, a series of fifteen books which he published from 1735–1743, represent his first appearance in print. Written to express his doubts in the divinity of the Scriptures, they develop this

theme with increasing forcefulness. Karl Guden, *Johann Christian Edelmann*, Hannover, 1870, p. 42, sees traces of Spinoza's influence in the fourteenth book, p. 93. However, such influence at that time could have been only indirect, although the thirteenth and fourteenth *Unterredungen* most vigorously defend the right to freedom of thought against any orthodoxy.

- 358 **Edelmann**, Johann Christian. . . . Bereitete Schlaege auf der Narren Ruecken, das ist wohlgemeinte Warnung vor denen, allen Spoettern des lebendigen Gottes, bevorstehenden Strafen. Besonders denen armen, von einem schaedlichen Luegen-Geiste bissher verblendeten Inspirations-Verwandten. . . . [Berleburg], 1738. 30 p. 16 1/2 cm.

This book relates Edelmann's difficulties with the "Inspired" of Berleburg during his stay there before he turned to Spinoza (see 357).

- 359 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad memoriam viri dum viveret nobilissimi et consultissimi Daniel. Aegidii Henrici d. II. Aug. MDCCXXXVIII. oratione publica renovandam literarum fautores et amicos humanissime invitat et philosophiam recentiore a foeda Spinosismi macula liberare pergit. Io. Christophorus Gottsched. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [8] l. 20 cm.

Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) was a German critic and professor at the University of Leipzig. His main contribution lay in the development of a theory of poetry and literature.

In this academic oration to eulogize the Leipzig professor Henrici, Gottsched, a follower of Christian Wolff, sets out to "free recent philosophy [i.e. the philosophy of the Leibnitz-Wolffian school] from the ugly blemishes of Spinozism."

An announcement published a year earlier, in 1737, had set the general theme. The accusation of Spinozism leveled at Wolff's philosophy, says Gottsched, stems from the fact that Wolff and his teacher Leibnitz used the mathematical method. But the mathematical method was not Spinoza's property. Euclid used it as well as Descartes. Yet, while they succeeded in harmonizing method and contents, discrepancies are evident between Spinoza's assertions and the mathematical form in which they are clothed. Gottsched promised to examine the definitions of Spinoza's *Ethica* and show that they derived from a misuse of the mathematical method and are entirely dissimilar to those of Leibnitz and Wolff — and also, of course, of Gottsched.

Gottsched continued his defense in five subsequent orations or "programs" published in 1738 and 1742. In a comment on the Spinoza article in his German translation of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, 1741–1744 (385) Gottsched summarized the purpose of those brochures as follows: "Since in the recent controversies concerning the Leibnitz-Wolffian philosophy Spinozism was often made the cul-

prit, I tried to demonstrate in seven different academic programs the difference between these two philosophies, their explanations and principles, as well as their propositions and demonstrations. In all of them I showed what a poor champion in explaining and demonstrating Spinoza is and how miserably he used the mathematical method which ought to surpass all other methods in clarity and thoroughness." My collection contains all but the introductory of these very rare brochures (359–361, 391–393). The hope which Gottsched expressed to publish them in one volume did not materialize.

- 360 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad audiendam orationem memoriae Riedeliae renovandae ergo d. XXVII. Septemb. MDCCXXXVIII h. l. q. c. habendam invitat et in amovenda a philosophia recentiori, foeda Spinozismi macula pergit Io. Christoph. Gottschedius. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [8] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Another academic oration, this one in memory of Georg Riedel, in which Gottsched pursues the theme of the Henrici oration, namely, to "remove from recent philosophy the ugly blemishes of Spinozism" (359). Gottsched contrasts the clarity of Wolff's philosophy with the ambiguities of Spinoza's and shows how radically Wolff's concept of God, free will, necessity, and eternity differ from those of Spinoza.

- 361 **Gottsched**, Johann Christoph. Ad orationem memoriae Seyfertianae sacram die VIII. Nov. a. MDCCXXXVIII . . . benevole audiendam invitat et in argumento aliquoties iam continuato ulterius pergit . . . Io. Christ. Gottschedius. . . . Leipzig: Breitkopf, (1738). [6] l. 21 cm.

This oration in memory of Christoph Seyfert continues the theme of the Henrici and Riedel orations (359, 360); it shows that Spinoza's concepts are alien to those of Leibnitz and Wolff.

- 362 **Hoffmann**, Friedrich. Opuscula phisico-medica antehac seorsim edita jam revisa, aucta, emendata & delectu habito recusa. Venice: Sebastian Coletus, 1738. 12, 412 p. 24 1/2 cm.

Friedrich Hoffmann (1660–1742) was a German physician of European fame who organized the medical faculty at the University of Halle. His writings, as the imprint of this volume evidences, were reprinted in many countries. He occupied the chair of natural philosophy at the university and his medical writings show a strong bent toward philosophical explanation and comparison.

A typical example is the essay "De fato physico et medico ejusque rationali explicatione disquisitio, in qua multa . . . argumenta de fato Stoicorum, Spinozae, medico & physico, de fortuna, providentia divina, harmonia